# COLLECTIONS

OF THE

# MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

WINSLOW WARREN.
HENRY F. JENKS.
GEORGE B. CHASE.

# COLLECTIONS

OF THE

# MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. X. — FIFTH SERIES.

WITH GENERAL INDEX TO THE TEN VOLUMES.

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# PREFACE.

In the year 1885 this Society published a volume of Historical Collections (IX. 5th Series), made up of early miscellaneous papers, and letters of Dr. William Samuel Johnson and Colonel Jedediah Huntington, selected from the Trumbull Papers in the possession of the Society. The present volume is from the same collection, and includes the correspondence in those papers between General Washington and Governor Trumbull, with a few letters from the former to General Gates, General Putnam, and others, and also an official correspondence during the years 1775 to 1778 between Trumbull and Joseph Warren, James Warren, General Gage, and John Hancock.

Eighty-six of the letters of Washington, beginning with the one dated March 24, 1779, and marked in this volume with an asterisk, are printed from original letters in the collection; the remaining letters are from copies in Governor Trumbull's letter-books.

The proportion of letters printed from copies is so large that the Committee has thought it best, instead of following the spelling of copies,— which may or may not have been exact transcripts of the originals,— to adopt the modern spelling, except with reference to names of persons or places, and, in order to secure uniformity, to follow the same rule in printing from originals.

A list of all letters from Washington contained in this Trumbull collection is printed at the end of the volume, and also a list of letters therein from Trumbull to Washington, with references to former publication of all letters in the collection omitted here, or for any reason reprinted. The letters from Trumbull referred to as printed by Sparks will be found in the volumes of Sparks's Letters to Washington; in all other cases the references are to the volumes of Sparks's Writings of Washington or to Force's Archives, with the exception of one reference to Washington's Official Letters.

In some cases it was found that the letters appeared in Sparks's volumes in a different form, or with changes or omissions, and wherever the differences were of importance the letters have been reprinted, with references to the former publication. In many cases the letters are here printed from originals, while the printing by Sparks is from copies. In others the reverse may be true; but the references will enable readers to compare for themselves.

A table of contents and index of the Fifth Series of Collections will be found at the end of this volume.

W. W.

Boston, *March* 1, 1888.

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# THE TRUMBULL PAPERS.

Vol. II.

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TRUMBULL AND WASHINGTON LETTERS.

# TRUMBULL AND WASHINGTON LETTERS.

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GOVERNOR TRUMBULL TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

LEBANON, 13th July, 1775.

SIR, — I have to observe to your Excellency that the Honorable Congress have altered the arrangement of the Generals appointed by our Assembly. Wish the order we adopted had been pursued. Fear Generals Wooster and Spencer will think they have reason to complain. They are gentlemen held in high estimation by our Assembly, and by the officers and troops under their command. There are reasons to fear that inconveniences will arise from the alterations made by the Congress in the rank and station of those Generals. At the same time they have the highest sense of General Putnam's singular merit and services.

Is it impracticable to derive some method to obviate the difficulties that are apprehended? The army before Boston is necessarily thrown into two grand divisions. General Spencer, with a number of our troops, hath been hitherto at Roxbury, and General Putnam at Cambridge. That destination, continued and observed, may prevent uneasy competition, preserve good order, and promote the public service.

I am, with great truth and regard, sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Camp at Cambridge,
August 9th, 1775.

Sir, — From some late intelligence out of Boston, and sundry corroborating circumstances, there is great reason to suspect that the Ministerial troops intend either to make a diversion to the southward, or wholly to remove. If they should do either, it is most probable New York is the place of their destination. I therefore think it most advisable that the troops of your Colony who have not yet marched, or may easily be recalled, should wait further orders. You will therefore, sir, be pleased to give the necessary directions for this purpose as soon as possible.

No occurrence in the camp of any consequence since I had the pleasure of addressing you last.

I am, sir, with due regard,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

G°. Washington.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, 21st August, 1775.

Sir, — Your esteemed favor of the 14th[1] instant is received. None of the powder is stopped that I requested, and hope it is best that it happened so.

None is lately arrived to this Colony, although daily expected; as we are greatly exhausted, should be obliged to have your order for some of the next parcel that passes through, if none arrive here before. I shall take care of the lead ordered from Ticonderoga. The lead

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[1] Force, Arch., iii., Ser. 4, p. 137.

mine you mentioned at Middletown is working; seven or eight tons of rich ore is raised, and works going up to smelt it.

There is another discovered at Woodbury in this Colony, and make no doubt of finding beds of sulphur among us. Our people are busy in making petre, — all which it is hoped may prove to public advantage.

I have enclosed for your observation the intelligence received from Brigadier Wooster. Since writing above, have received and enclosed for your notice the intelligence from Ticonderoga. You will receive this by the hand of our mutual good friends Colonel Dyer and Colonel Elderkin, who will be able to inform better than I can by writing.

I am, with great truth and sincerity,

Your very humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

GENERAL WASHINGTON.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE,
August 23d, 1775.

SIR, — Yesterday I received advice from Boston that a number of transports have sailed on a second expedition for fresh provisions. As they met with such success before, it is probable they may pursue the same course, only advancing farther. We think Montague Point, on Long Island, a very probable place of their landing; I have therefore thought it best to give you the earliest intelligence. But I do not mean to confine your attention or vigilance to that place. You will please to extend your views as far as the mischief may be probably extended.

We have no transaction of sufficient consequence in the camp to make a part of a letter.

I am, sir, with much respect and esteem,

Your most obliged and humble servant,

G°. Washington.

P. S. You will please to let me know in your next, what progress you make with the hunting-shirts.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, 6th Sept., 1775.

Sir, — I have no further intelligence concerning the ships that infest our coasts. It is most probable they are not those your Excellency notified to me.

This afternoon received intelligence from Mr. Shaw, of New London, that he had, by Captain Champlin, who arrived last evening, received and landed safe about three tons of powder. Have ordered it to Norwich, excepting a present supply for our two armed sloops.

Please to give me directions concerning such part as may be thought fit to be spared for your camp.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully, sir,

Your very obedient, humble servant,

Jon$^{TH}$. Trumbull.

General Washington.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Camp at Cambridge,
Oct. 5th, 1775.

Sir, — By a person from Boston the day before yesterday we learn that a small fleet, consisting of a sixty-four-gun ship, a twenty, two sloops of eighteen guns, two transports, and about six hundred men sailed as yester-

day. They took on board two mortars, four howitzers, and other artillery, from which we suspect that they intend to bombard some town on the coast. General Gage is recalled; General Howe commands in his place. We have some late accounts from England, but see no prospect of an accommodation. General Gage's account of Bunker Hill is returned, and corresponds pretty much with ours as to killed and wounded. You will please to forward the enclosed to the Commissary-General with all expedition, and believe me,

Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

G° Washington.

Governor Trumbull.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, 9th October, 1775.

Sir, — Pursuant to request from the Continental Congress this day received, have given orders to Captain Giles Hall, Commander of the brigantine "Minerva," to sail with all possible despatch on a cruise to the River St. Lawrence, or thereabouts, in quest of two vessels from England, bound to Quebec, with arms, etc., as I presume you will be fully advised of before this reaches you, by the same express from the Continental Congress; and it is supposed sundry armed vessels will be despatched from the Colonies of Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island for the same purpose. This enterprise as yet remains a profound secret with us, and the orders are given to Captain Hall not to be opened until he is out of sight of land. The "Minerva" will sail in a very few days.

I am, most respectfully, sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

Jon$^{a}$ Trumbull.

His Excellency General Washington.

## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE,
Oct. 24, 1775.

SIR, — Your favor of the 12th instant I duly received, and thank you for enclosing Captain Thompson's information. The contents of the depositions now transmitted to you are of such a nature that I have thought no time should be lost in giving you the earliest notice of them.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

LEBANON, 6th November, 1775.

SIR, — I have received your favor of the 29th[1] October ultimo, wherein you mention the case of Dr. Cheney, commissioned from hence as a surgeon, which you are persuaded to have been obtained by some misrepresentation. Indeed I was not apprised of any misconduct or bad behavior of his. If he was guilty of any such thing, should be glad he may be convicted and discharged. I will give a detail of his case as it lay before me and my council.

I had no personal knowledge of the surgeon or his mates appointed to the third regiment raised in this Colony, nor that either of them was returned, until the 13th September I received a letter from Nathaniel Wales, Esq., wherein he mentions, "I have this moment received a letter from Colonel Stores, informing me that Dr. Cheney has left the army, that the regiment have no

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[1] Force, Arch., iii., Ser. 4, p. 1249.

doctor but Dr. Spalding, who is not esteemed very highly. They do not esteem him as a physician, whatever he may be of a surgeon. Colonel Stores urges extreme hard to have one sent equal to Dr. Cheney, or that Dr. Cheney may be sent back." Thereupon I sent for the doctor, who came to me. I inquired the reason of his leaving the service. He let me know there was a misunderstanding between him and Dr. Spalding, and he therefore asked the favor of a dismission of your Excellency, and obtained it, and did not incline to return under him. I discoursed with him concerning the sickness and the manner of treating and providing for the sick, and other affairs of the army. He did not express one word to me in disparagement of any or either the general officers, nor of any one else, excepting the reasons he gave of Dr. Spalding and his own disagreement. He appeared to me a sensible, prudent, man. I dismissed him at that time. Hearing of Dr. Turner's returning to Norwich, I sent to him to see him before he returned to the army, which was principally from concern for the uneasiness which had happened between the two physicians, and the representation of the unskilfulness of him who remained with the regiment. He came, and we discoursed on the subject, and found that he did not look on Dr. Spalding as a person skilled in physic, that the person he served his time with was a skilful surgeon who made no profession of physic; and Dr. Turner expressed his apprehension that Dr. Spalding had not made any great proficiency in surgery, which increased my concern, as I was told the other mate was young and unexperienced. At the next meeting of my Council I laid the case before them, called in Dr. Cheney, and conferred with him; proposed his return. He remained dissatisfied with the treatment he met with from Dr. Spalding. We thought ourselves warranted, from what accounts came

from Colonel Stores and Dr. Turner, to believe that regiment not well provided for with skilful physicians and surgeons, and urged Dr. Cheney to return, and gave him a new commission for that end. I have reason to suspect an invidious design of his competitor, as Dr. Spalding may be called, against him, and doubt not your caution that his case and circumstances may be impartially examined. Since my beginning to write I received per Mr. Wales, who is one of my Council of Safety, an extract from Colonel Stores's letter to him, which is enclosed.

I have received applications for the advancement of officers and filling vacancies, which have hitherto declined, save in the case of Captain Dyer and Lieutenant Huntington, which I perceive hath been attended with difficulty. There is an application made to me by Lieutenant Moses Cleveland, who served under Captain Parrit while styled a company of Rangers. The latter received a commission for captain, and his subalterns not returned with him were not known, and by that means this subaltern was neglected. He hath remained in the army. If he is found fit for a subaltern's commission and there is a vacancy, he will meet your favor.

Major-General Schuyler, in a letter to me of the 31st of August, says: "I have ordered the lead I can spare to Albany, with directions to forward it by the most direct road to General Washington, that you may not have any unnecessary trouble." In my last to him have mentioned it, and likewise wrote to Commissary Phelps at Albany, to be informed concerning it.

I am, with great truth and regard, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

CAMBRIDGE, December 14th, 1775.

SIR, — I beg leave to recommend to your kind notice Messieurs Penet and De Pliarne, two French gentlemen who came here last night. They laid before me a plan for furnishing the Continent with military stores, which seems to promise success; but not thinking myself authorized to make any contract with them respecting the same, and not knowing how far Congress may have taken measures for a supply of these articles, I have prevailed upon them to go to Philadelphia, and recommend them and their proposals to the consideration of that body. There the matter will be at once agreed upon or rejected. They are to travel at the Continental expense, and I pray the favor of you to supply them with such necessaries as they may want, and have carriages provided for expediting their journey as much as possible. Whatever charge or expense you may be at on their account, you will please to make me acquainted with, and it shall be immediately paid.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

CAMBRIDGE, 19th January, 1776.

SIR, — The enclosures herewith sent convey such full accounts of the sad reverse of our affairs in Canada as to render it unnecessary for me, in my present hurry, to add aught to the tale.

Your spirited Colony will, I have no doubt, be sufficiently impressed with the expediency of a vigorous exertion to prevent the evils which must follow from the repulse of our troops. It does not admit of a doubt but that General Carlton will improve this advantage to the

utmost; and if he should be able to give another current of sentiments to the Canadians and Indians than those they seemed inclined to adopt, words are unnecessary to describe the melancholy effect that must inevitably follow.

I am persuaded, therefore, that you will exert yourselves to the utmost to throw in the reinforcement by the route mentioned in General Schuyler's letter, that is now required of your Colony, as the doing of it expeditiously may prove a matter of the utmost importance.

You will perceive by the minutes of the council of war, enclosed, that the regiment asked of you for Canada is one of the four applied for in my letter of the 16th[1] instant, and that the only difference, with respect to the requisition, lies in the length of time and place of service, as no good could result from sending troops to Canada for a shorter period than the Continental Army is raised for; namely, till the 1st of January, 1777.

I am, with very great esteem, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

Gº Washington.

P. S. Your favor of the 16th[1] instant now lays before me; but the hurry in which I am engaged at present allows no more than time for acknowledgment of it.

Yours, etc.,

Gº W.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Cambridge,
14th March, 1776.

Sir, — Since I did myself the honor to write you last, the enemy have embarked their troops on board a number of transports, and are now making a shameful retreat

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[1] Force, Arch., iv., Ser. 4, p. 697.

from Boston. Various are the conjectures of their destination, though most agree it is either for Halifax or New York.

The latter place seems by much the most probable. Be that as it may, New York is a post of infinite importance both to them and us, and much depends on priority of possession. I therefore entreat you, sir, immediately to throw two thousand men into that city, from the frontiers of Connecticut, to maintain the place till I can arrive there with the army under my command. The rifle regiment will march this day. To-morrow a brigade will follow, and be succeeded by others as quick as possible.

You are sensible, sir, of the great importance of a strenuous exertion at this critical period,—a period which may in its consequences determine the fate of America. The zeal and activity heretofore shown by the good people of your Government in defence of the liberties of America leaves me no room to doubt their readiness on the present occasion.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully, sir,
Your obedient, humble servant,

G° Washington.

His Honor Governor Trumbull.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, 25th March, 1776.

Sir,—I do most heartily congratulate you on your success, that, after a long, incessant, and persevering fatigue, you happily have caused our enemies to evacuate the town of Boston, to leave that strong fortress they built when they trampled on the properties of the inhabitants of that distressed town, profaned the sacred places dedicated to divine worship and service, and designed the ruin of the lives, properties, and liberties, of our whole country. The lustre of the British arms is tarnished. By a shameful and ignominious retreat they

have lost their honor, — indeed, none could be maintained or gained in so wicked and scandalous a cause. I hear they have demolished the Castle; hope soon to know they have left the coast. Where destined, remains conjectural. Some imagine Howe intends for Halifax, there to wait the opening of St. Lawrence, and then rush to the assistance of Carlton.

It is said Lord Cornwallis, with three thousand troops, is gone to North Carolina. Clinton has preceded them, and is to take the command there. Governor Martin is stimulating the Highlanders and Regulators to join them, and, with the assistance of the slaves, reduce that Colony to a state of abject submission to our British taskmasters. Martin will, I fear, succeed too well in his attempts to divide that Province. It is said that near three thousand insurgents were preparing to oppose their militia. This is cruel, wicked, detestable policy. Savages are merciful compared with our enemies.

Commissioners were expected to sail for the southward Colonies some time in January. They are to treat with Provinces separately, by no means with the Congress, nor by any act of theirs recognize the legality of that body. Their business is to divide our councils and exertions as much as possible, to hold out pardons to penitent sinners, to those who are abject enough to take the guilt of treason upon them and supplicate remission. May we thankfully rejoice that the Lord reigns, that hitherto he hath helped us, and our eyes be upon him, to turn their counsels to foolishness, to bring down their high looks, and defeat their arts and arms.

I received yours of the 21st[1] on Sunday morning. Four battalions from your camp came into Norwich last Saturday. Colonel Webb marched this morning to embark at New London; the other three at Norwich this day. I hear another is on the road. I wish to have the

[1] Force, Arch., v., Ser. 4, p. 456.

rest of your troops to pursue their route on or near the sea coasts. They can be accommodated with covering and provision full as well, much the same distances, and better road at this season, than the more interior, that they may be ready to oppose the enemy in case they make any attempt on this Colony.

Captain Niles, on board our armed schooner "Spy," is cruising near Block Island and Montauk Point to discover and give intelligence of the motions of the enemy. I have received none at present. Enclosed is account of hunting frocks you sent to me last summer to procure, and of a chest of arms sent you last month; the total, £486 3*s*., which please to remit to me per Mr. Bacon, the post rider, who brings this.

In answer to yours of the 15th,[1] relative to three dollars advanced per man towards the pay of the militia from this Government, I choose that you give your warrant for the whole, and order three dollars advanced per man, to be paid into the hands of the respective colonels of the three regiments, to be by them returned and paid back to our Committee of Pay Table, — which I conceive to be an easy method, or any other way you think best to have replaced at our Pay Table. Please to remember that in my last I mentioned my desire of four tons of powder being replaced by the Continent as soon as you can advise the Congress thereof, to be sent and lodged, one ton at Fairfield, one ton at New Haven, and two tons at Middletown in this Colony; it being only a small part of the quantity of that article we have furnished to their army, and are in necessity of it for the various services we have undertaken, both for the land and sea service.

I am, with great esteem and regard, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

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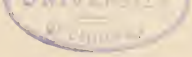
[1] Force, Arch., iv., Ser. 4, p. 1157.



## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, CAMBRIDGE,
27th March, 1776.

SIR, — I take this earliest opportunity to acquaint you that the men-of-war and transports with the Ministerial troops sailed this afternoon from Nantasket Harbor. There is only a man-of-war and two or three other armed vessels now remaining there.

In consequence of this movement I have ordered a brigade to march to-morrow morning for New York, and shall follow with the remainder of the army as soon as I can receive certain information of the fleet being clear of the coast, and that we are in no further danger of their returning to attack us at a disadvantage. I shall leave a few regiments at Boston to protect the Continental stores and to assist in fortifying the town and harbor, agreeable to the directions that may be given by the General Assembly of this Colony.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully, sir,
Your obedient, humble servant,
Gº. WASHINGTON.

HIS HONOR GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

CAMBRIDGE, 28th March, 1776.

SIR, — I have been all this day at Boston. On my return, your esteemed favor of the 25th was handed to me. I have not time to answer it at present. The next opportunity will convey to you that, and the money for amount of the account you have enclosed.

I am, with very great respect, sir,
Your most humble and obedient servant,
Gº. WASHINGTON.

GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

New York, 20th April, 1776.[1]

Sir, — By the returns just delivered me of the state of our ammunition, I find we are greatly deficient in the article of ball; and as I understand a large quantity of lead has been manufactured at Middletown, in your Government, I must beg the favor of you to forward as much as you can spare to me as soon as possible.

I am, very respectfully, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

G°. Washington.

Governor Trumbull.

P. S. As the quantity of powder here is much smaller than I expected, and the demand from Canada greater, I should be obliged to you if you would inform me how that has been disposed of which was said to be imported lately into your Government on Continental account.

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WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

New York, April 22d, 1776.

Sir, — When I had the honor of seeing you at Norwich you gave me some encouragements to hope you would spare me a number of arms, which you said were then repairing. The great deficiency of arms in the regiments raised in this Province and the Jerseys (some being totally unprovided) obliges me to request the favor of you to forward all that are finished to me by the first convenient opportunity: I am extremely sorry to trouble you so often with requisitions, but I doubt not you will

[1] This letter is printed in Force, Arch., v., Ser. 4, p. 997, without the postscript.

readily excuse me when you consider that the good of the service makes it necessary.

I am, most respectfully, sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

Gº. Washington.

Governor Trumbull.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, 29th April, 1776.

Sir, — I am favored with your two letters of the 20th and 22d instant. Of the lead ore which is raising at Middletown in this Colony, but small quantity is yet smelted. The work is going on, and hope you may be supplied with lead from thence e'er long. We are not furnished with experienced workmen as we could wish. The only workman to be depended on is at present unfit for duty.

Some arms are wanted to furnish our troops at New London. We have nearly sufficient for that purpose. When these are supplied, hope we shall be able to furnish some for Continental service. Our Assembly is nigh; shall consult them on the subject of your requests.

The quantity of powder arrived at New London on Continental account, is not so large as was represented. This Colony have powder arrived at Philadelphia, which is proposed to be exchanged for what is here. Whether this will take place am not yet acquainted. I promise myself that this Colony will be refunded the quantity mentioned in mine of the 16th[1] February last which was lent for Continental use, the security of this Colony rendering the same absolutely necessary. The account I mentioned to you at Norwich have desired the Commissary-General to receive the money for. The vouchers are already transmitted, and I suppose in your hands.

I am etc, Jonᵀᴴ. Trumbull.

General Washington.

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[1] Force, Arch., iv., Ser. 4, p. 1163.

WASHINGTON TO COLONEL THOMAS SEYMOUR.

Headquarters, New York,
July 8th, 1776.

Sir, — By a letter from his Honor Governor Trumbull, received on the 5th[1] instant, I was informed he had ordered three regiments of horse on to this place, under your command, with all possible despatch, and was desired, in case they were not wanted, to inform Colonel Silliman thereof; accordingly I wrote Colonel Silliman, acquainting him it was my desire the men might come on, provided they could leave or send back their horses, which letter did not go forward as soon as I intended. Major Starr this morning waited on informing me of his arrival with fifty of the troop, and that the rest were on their march. I have ordered him to find some pasture for his horse this day, and immediately ride forward and acquaint you that there is not more forage on hand or to be had than is absolutely necessary for the use of our working and artillery horses, and that is my desire your men may be halted some way in the rear of this place, and their horses sent back; otherwise the men can only be a moth and a check to the service, as they cannot act as horsemen in case of action, or if they could, forage would not be found to support them. I think it absolutely necessary the men should be here till the new levies all arrive; but for the above reasons shall be necessitated to order their return unless they can be persuaded to come on without their horses. I would not be supposed by this to discourage the troops of horse from being in constant readiness in the different *States*, as I am fully persuaded they will be much more useful than the militia to throw in succors to a place on an emergency. I am pleased to see with what cheerfulness

[1] Force, Arch., vi., Ser. 4, p. 1253.

and alacrity the troops from your Province step forward to the assistance of their countrymen whenever called, and doubt not it will continue.

Major Starr will be able to inform you fully, from what I have mentioned to him, the absolute necessity for the men, and the utter impossibility of keeping the horse. Baggage-wagons may be hired to bring on baggage for your men from any place they leave their horse.

I am, sir,

Your most humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

COLONEL SEYMOUR.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW YORK,
July 21st, 1776.

DEAR SIR, — By letter received from five gentlemen, committee appointed by Provincial Convention of this State to reconnoitre and report the situation of the high lands and forts on Hudson's River, I find them in great want of cannon, two men of war and three tenders being but about ten miles below them, and in daily expectation of their attempting to pass the forts Montgomery and Constitution to burn the two frigates building at Poughkeepsie. In this situation they have mentioned sending to your Honor a request for those now at Salisbury Furnace, which I am fully persuaded you will, if possible, readily comply with, as it is not in my power to lend them any assistance from this quarter.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

New York, July 25th, 1776.

Sir, — Congress having empowered me to appoint suitable places of rendezvous for the battalions raising for the Northern Army, and to communicate the same to you, — also that one month's pay should be advanced them, etc., as you will perceive by the enclosed copy of their Resolution, which I have the honor to transmit, — I must request of you to direct your proportion of the same to march by companies, as they are raised, to Skenesborough, and there receive orders and instructions for their conduct from the officer commanding the Northern Army, and also to advance the month's pay and take every necessary measure for forwarding their march and complying with the purport of the said Resolve, assuring you that whatever money may be advanced necessarily in carrying the same into execution shall be repaid to your order. Before I conclude I cannot but confess I do not clearly understand what battalions the enclosed Resolve alludes to, and therefore beg leave to refer you to the requisition I presume Congress have made of you.

I am, sir, very respectfully,
Your most obedient servant,
G° Washington.

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WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, New York,
8th August, 1776.

Dear Sir, — As Captain Bacon has been here in pursuit of some duck and other articles for the Northern Army, and is now gone into Connecticut, I take the liberty of forwarding a letter for him to Governor Cooke, under cover to you, by which Captain Bacon can be

furnished with what duck is wanting, provided he does not meet with it in Connecticut. I wrote you particularly last evening[1] by Mr. Root, of Hartford, since which nothing material has happened.

I am, sir, with sentiments of esteem,

Your most humble servant.

[*Signature omitted.*]

Governor Trumbull.

P. S. Should you not have opportunity to present the enclosed to Captain Bacon, you will please to forward it to Governor Cooke, together with the intelligence of mine of yesterday to your Honor contained, as I have not time to write him particularly.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, August 13th, 1776.

Sir, — Your favor of the 7th instant by Mr. Root,[1] and the intelligence it contains, has given me great concern and anxiety. The soon-expected strength of the enemy and weakness of your army were equally unforeseen and surprising. Though I never gave credit to the public accounts of your numbers, yet I could not suspect they fell so much short of the numbers proposed as I find they do.

Immediately upon receipt of your letter I summoned my Council of Safety and ordered nine regiments of our militia, in addition to the five Western regiments, fourteen in the whole, to march without loss of time and join you, under the command of Oliver Wolcott, Esq., colonel of the Nineteenth Regiment, as their brigadier-general, who is appointed and commissioned to that office. These orders are accompanied with the most pressing recommendation of speedily carrying them into execution, enforced by

[1] Force, Arch., i., Ser. 5, p. 821; Sparks's Writings of Washington, iv. 33.

communicating as much of the intelligence you are pleased to favor me with of your situation and danger, as I thought prudent and necessary.

I have likewise proposed that companies of volunteers, consisting of able-bodied men not in the militia, should associate and march to your assistance under officers they should choose, and have promised them like wages and allowance of provisions, etc., as the Continental Army receive. Some such companies are formed, and expect more will be. Whatever their number may be, they will be ordered to join some one of our militia regiments, and submit themselves to the command of their field officers while they continue in service.

Colonel Ward's regiment is on their march to join. I am far from trusting merely in the justice of our cause; I consider that as a just ground to hope for the smiles of Heaven on our exertions, which ought to be the greatest in our power.

[*Signature omitted.*]

His Excellency General Washington.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, August 16th, 1776.

Sir, — Major-General Schuyler has requested that two hundred seamen may be raised in this State to man the vessels on the lake. As most of our seamen have marched with our militia to join your army, I have to ask the favor of your Excellency to permit Captain David Hawley and Captain Frederick Chappel to enlist such number of seamen out of our militia as may be necessary for that service.

I am, sir, with great respect,

Your obedient, humble servant,

Jon$^{th}$ Trumbull.

His Excellency General Washington.

## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Camp above the Falls of Trenton,
December 22d, 1776.

Sir, — When I wrote to you on the 14th[1] instant, I had little doubt of receiving considerable support from the militia of this State, and was taught to believe that a large part of the old troops coming with General Lee had re-enlisted. In the first I have every reason in the world to be disappointed; in the latter I find myself wofully deceived. It is easier to conceive than describe the situation I am in, — left, or shall be in a very few days, with only a very few Southern regiments (reduced almost to nothing) to oppose Howe's main army, already posted in such a manner as to pour in his whole force upon us so soon as the frost affords him a passage over the Delaware, and our number such as to give no effectual opposition. Thus circumstanced, it is a matter of concern to me that in my last I directed you to take back any of the militia designed for the support of the army under my command, and have to request that instead of ordering the return of any of those that were destined for this Department, by order of the respective States, that you will hasten them on with all possible expedition, as I see no other chance of saving Philadelphia and preventing a fatal blow to America in the loss of a city from whence so much of our resources are drawn.

[*Signature omitted.*]

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Morris Town,
10th January, 1777.

Sir, — I am honored with your favor of the 23d[2] last month. I hope the Congress have, in consequence of your application, ordered up a supply of money for the

[1] Force, Arch., iii., Ser. 5, p. 1215; Sparks's Writings of Washington, iv. 219.

[2] Force, Arch., iii., Ser. 5, p. 1389.

bounty to the new enlisted troops in your State; but lest they should not have done it, I shall order Colonel Palfrey to send what cash he can spare to the Deputy-Pay-Master at Peekskill, to be applied to the use of the recruiting service to the eastward. He some little time ago sent a hundred and fifty thousand dollars to Peekskill to be distributed by General Heath among the recruiting officers. If that sum should not be expended, some money may be drawn from thence. In the mean time I must beg the favor of you to advance the necessary sums out of the treasury of your State, assuring you it shall be refunded as early as possible.

I am very happy to hear that your Assembly have it in contemplation to send a body of troops forward to serve till your regular enlistments can be completed. Nothing can be more distressing to the enemy or serviceable to me than an army hanging upon the rear of New York, to move forward as circumstances may require. Their wishes and views are certainly towards Philadelphia; and valuable as the acquisition of that city would be, it would be paying too dear a price for it, were they to give up New York to a force that might be thrown into it after their army has moved southward. Our success at Trenton has been followed by another lucky blow at Princetown on the 3d instant. I lay with about five thousand men at Trenton. The enemy advanced a superior force down upon me from Princetown on the second. Not choosing to risk an engagement there, I decamped as soon as it was dark, and marched along their flank to Princetown, which lay directly in their rear. I arrived there by break of day and found three regiments of British troops ready drawn up to march to Trenton. We immediately attacked them, and in a short time put them completely to the rout. We have already taken three hundred prisoners, and the country people are daily bringing in stragglers. Their loss upon the whole will amount to

at least five hundred. The enemy, confounded at this unexpected stroke in their rear, and fearing that their baggage at Brunswick would fall into our hands, marched back in the greatest hurry from Trenton to Brunswick, where their main body now lays. They have called in all their outposts, so that their late possession of the greatest part of Jersey is reduced to the compass of a very few miles. They evacuated Elizabeth Town with so much precipitation that we made one hundred prisoners and took the baggage of two regiments, besides a quantity of provisions.

These successes, though comparatively small, have greatly inspirited the inhabitants of this State and Pennsylvania; and I am in great hopes if we can once put the enemy into winter quarters, and get some little leisure, that our affairs may be put in such a train and upon such a footing as will insure success the next campaign.

I have the honor to be, with great sincerity, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

Hon. Governor Trumbull.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Middletown, January 14th, 1777.

Sir, — Have to acknowledge the receipt of your several favors of the 12th, 14th, 16th, and 21st[1] December, since which the agreeable intelligence of a series of signal successes which have attended you in the Jerseys affords the most animating hopes and prospects; upon which events we most heartily congratulate you, and trust that Heaven will still continue to succeed and bless our exertions, and enable you to surmount every obstacle

[1] Force, Arch., iii., Ser. 5, pp. 1186, 1215, 1246, 1338; Sparks's Writings of Washington, iv. 212, 219.

and rise superior to every embarrassment and difficulty that you may yet be called to encounter.

Our four battalions are filling up with all possible despatch, and three of them are gone and going on to your assistance, together with a number of volunteer companies equal to a battalion, which we are in hopes may answer in lieu of one of the battalions we had previously designated for Providence. The new army, we have great reason to expect, will soon be filled, under the great encouragements that are given, and the spring that this new turn in our affairs must naturally give; but money and clothes will be very necessary to expedite the same. Should therefore think it requisite that the recruiting officers be furnished as soon as possible with a sufficiency of cash for the purpose of enlistments, and that our proportion of the Continental clothing coming from the eastward be ordered to be stopped and delivered here for their supply. Likewise how, when, and where they are to be armed and accoutred, will be necessary to be known.

I immediately laid yours of the 16th before our Assembly, who granted ten thousand pounds to Colonel Sheldon for the purpose you mention; and agreeable to your direction, have drawn on the Continent, through you, for a reimbursement of the same. Observe what has passed between yourself and General Howe respecting our suffering prisoners, and am well assured of your feelings for them. The unheard-of cruelty and inhumanity with which they have been treated, demands our just resentments and a spirited remonstrance to General Howe upon that subject. Have forwarded all their prisoners in this State to Rhode Island in pursuance of your advice, and now enclose the necessary returns requested, with a line to General Howe to wait your requisition for an exchange. In this place I cannot help reminding your Excellency's very particular attention to the case of

Colonel Ethan Allen, whose early captivity and long sufferings entitle him to a preference in point of exchange. His spirit and bravery might be of singular service to his country, and his Tory enemies in New York are seeking his ruin. I would also mention the case of one Captain Isaac Fellows, who is also a prisoner in New York, and is confined in close jail under pretence of suspicion of being concerned in the late fire in the city, and is used with great inhumanity, and refused to be brought to trial.

Colonel Ward's regiment, whose time don't expire till May, I am advised are much in want of necessary clothing, which wish they may be supplied with, if possible, from the Continental stores; but if that can't be done, must request that they may be returned, as soon as the public service will permit, to some station this side the North River, that they may be supplied from their friends with such necessary clothing as they may want.

I am, with the most sincere esteem and regard,
Your most obedient, humble servant.

[*Signature omitted.*]

P. S. The list of prisoners is not yet come to hand, and must be omitted till my next.

I have taken the liberty to advise Major-General Spencer to wait your Excellency's further orders by express before he sends Colonel Ely's regiment, belonging to our four battalions from Providence, hoping it will meet your approbation.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Middletown, January 14th, 1777.

Sir, — Agreeable to your direction, have drawn in favor of John Lawrence, Esq., Treasurer, for the sum of ten thousand pounds lawful money advanced to Colonel

Sheldon to enable him to raise a regiment of cavalry, and charge the same to the Continent, as per his receipt, a copy of which send enclosed.

From your humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

To His Excellency General Washington.

P. S. It would be agreeable to receive an order upon the Commissioner of the Loan Office here for the above sum, to prevent risk, provided he be furnished with certificates, etc., which I hope he will receive by this express.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, January 23d, 1777.

Sir, — I most sincerely congratulate you upon the happy success which has lately attended your arms, which I have the pleasure to be informed of by your favor of the 10th instant, which came to hand by Colonel Stewart this afternoon.

I have not yet heard of any money sent into this State by Congress to pay the bounty to the new enlisted troops. Some small part of the one hundred and fifty thousand dollars you sent to Peekskill has, I believe, been distributed to some of our colonels, though by far the greatest part of the recruiting officers are in the State lying still for want of money to pay the promised bounty, without which soldiers will not enlist. I am happy to hear you intend sending forward money for this service, for indeed it suffers for want of it; and Congress, amidst the variety of business that engages their attention, seems to have forgot this necessary step, although the only season in which we can hope to fill up the new army is wasting fast and will soon be over. It would give me great pleasure to be able to advance the necessary sums

out of our treasury. Our Assembly have provided funds only for satisfying such demands as were expected to be made upon it, and money comes in no faster than we are obliged to issue it to pay such public debts as justice will not permit to be delayed. The Continental Loan Office might be called in aid, but unhappily the check-books and loan-tickets are not arrived, and the loan officer has been able to do nothing in his office. In this situation no money for this service can be depended upon here. Permit me to entreat your Excellency to forward the necessary sums without delay, as little progress can be expected to be made in raising and equipping that army upon which our defence, under God, depends, till a supply for this purpose is received.

Some of the battalions are partly filled, but the bounty and clothing promised by Congress are not furnished them. If this was done, it would excite others to enlist, and I flatter myself the troops might soon be raised and ready for service.

Three battalions of our troops, engaged to serve till the 15th of March, are gone to join General Heath. Sixteen companies of volunteers are likewise marched. They are formed into a battalion under Colonel Noadiah Hooker, are equal to a full battalion in number, and have engaged to continue in service for the term of two months from this enlistment. One battalion of our troops, engaged till the 15th of March, are ordered to Providence to assist in defending the State of Rhode Island against the enemy stationed at Newport.

I enclose you a return of prisoners of war collected and sent to Newport, agreeable to your request. The friends of the officers and soldiers now prisoners of war from this State, especially those confined in New York, are impatient for their release, — and with good reasons, as their sufferings there from cold, hunger, nakedness, sickness, the want of every necessary, and accumulated

insult, exceed all description. Many, incapable to support the load of suffering, have fell sacrifices to the rigor and inhumanity of our polished enemies, after having endured hardships and tortures incomparably more severe and excruciating than the wildest savage would inflict upon his barbarous foe. Others, by the help of a strong constitution, yet endure their misery. They can endure but little longer. I hope your humanity will relieve them before they fall victims to the accursed policy of our inhuman enemies. I am unable to mention all the officers from this State now prisoners. I entreat your Excellency to effect their exchange as soon as possible. Major Meigs and Captain Hanchet were taken at Quebec, and are here on their parole. General Waterbury was taken on Lake Champlain; Major Wells, Lieutenants Fitch, Fanning, and Cleaveland on Long Island; Lieutenant-Colonel Hart and Brigade-Major Wyllys on York Island; and Lieutenant Hopkins on Long Island. I beg leave to recommend these gentlemen in particular to your Excellency's care to have them exchanged, and generally all officers and soldiers from this State now prisoners of war.

This letter will be delivered to you by Brigade-Major Wyllys, who is out upon his parole for thirty days to procure his exchange. I wish your Excellency to take measures to prevent the necessity of his return. Lieutenant Hopkins is likewise out upon his parole for the same purpose. I beg leave to propose he may be exchanged for a Lieutenant McDermot, of the Sixteenth Regiment of British troops, now a prisoner in this State, if agreeable. His parole admits of his release upon sending in a prisoner of equal rank. I am sensible your Excellency needs no arguments or motives to induce you to effect the exchange of our prisoners in the speediest manner; yet I must entreat your pardon for just mentioning a jealousy our enemies endeavor to instil into our prisoners, — that

the prisoners from the Southern States are taken better care of than ours; and indeed I fear we in this State inadvertently have failed in some degree of doing all we ought to, or might have done, to procure their discharge, which makes me more earnest, and perhaps too importunate, to have it soon effected.

Should your Excellency find it necessary to raise another battalion in this State, I beg leave to mention Jesse Root, Esq., of Hartford, as a gentleman well qualified for the command. His spirit and zeal, as well as his other talents, are surpassed by few gentlemen in this State. The battalion of volunteers now in service, of which he is lieutenant-colonel, were raised at his request and by his efforts. Permit me likewise to recommend the bearer, Major Wyllys, a promising youth, who bids fair to do honor to the ancient and honorable family he is descended from, and is ambitious to continue in the service. His captivity prevented his being provided for in the battalions now raising in this State.

I am, etc.,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

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WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRIS TOWN,
24th January, 1777.

SIR, — I received your several favors of the 12th and 14th instant by Lieutenant Fellows, to whom I granted a flag with a letter to General Howe, desiring that his brother, Captain Fellows, might be one of the first officers exchanged.

I have remonstrated very sharply with General Howe upon his treatment of our prisoners, and I hope it will be attended with good effects. I have repeatedly endeavored to procure the enlargement of Colonel Ethan

Allen, but none of my propositions were ever accepted of. The reason I cannot tell.

I have wrote pressingly to Congress to forward money to the Eastward for the recruiting service, and shall direct Mr. Mease, who is appointed Clothier-General, and who is expected here every day, to allot a proportion of the clothes taken and purchased for the Continent, to each State.

I observe that you have advanced Colonel Sheldon ten thousand pounds lawful money, for which you desire my draft on the Commissioners of the Loan Office. I would not hesitate to do this if I had received any authority from Congress empowering me to draw upon that fund. I will write to them respecting it, and if they grant me liberty, I will immediately transmit you a proper draft.

I refer you to a particular letter of this date concerning the expediency of forwarding the new levies, and subscribe myself,

With great esteem, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G°. Washington.

P. S. A few days ago General Dickinson, with a party of four hundred militia, beat a foraging party of the enemy of superior numbers and took forty wagons and upwards of one hundred horses, mostly English.

Governor Trumbull.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Morris Town,
1st February, 1777.

Sir, — I have the pleasure of yours of the 23d January by Major Wyllys, and thank you for your congratulations upon our late successes, which have been attended with

very happy consequences, as the enemy have remained very quiet at Brunswick and Amboy since the affair at Princetown.

I have wrote to Congress in a very pressing manner not only to send on a present supply of money, but to forward the check-books and loan-tickets with the greatest expedition.

I most sincerely wish it were in my power to procure the immediate release of all our officers and soldiers who have been so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of our enemies; but when the chance of war has turned the scale against us in point of numbers, what more can be done than to give those a preference who have longest endured captivity? That I might avoid every imputation of partiality for the officers of any particular State, I have in all my letters to General Howe, and to Mr. Loring, the Commissary of prisoners, directed that an equal proportion of officers of the Eastern and Southern States be sent out. But without paying any regard to my request, they have given Pennsylvania more than her proportion, having never discharged one of the Maryland officers taken upon Long Island. Major Meigs and Captain Hanchet are already released. We have no general officer to propose for Colonel Waterbury, and if we had, General Thompson, who was taken long before, has a preference.

If General Howe does not accede to the proposal of Congress for giving up all the Hessian field-officers taken at Trenton, for General Lee, Lieutenant-Colonel Hart and Major Wells will probably come in for their turn of exchange. You, by your return, have sent in but three captains, and I have convinced Major Wyllys, who ranks as captain, that I cannot consent to propose him for one of those without doing injustice to Captain Dearborn,[1]

[1] Afterwards Major-General Henry Dearborn of Continental Army.

who was taken at Quebec 31st December, 1775, and Captains Trowbridge and Percival, taken the 27th August last upon Long Island. By my state of the exchange of prisoners, a captain is still due to us. If there should be, I have desired Major Wyllys may be accepted for him.

You mention the names of several subalterns who were taken upon Long Island and York Island, whose release you would wish, but there are yet eight gentlemen taken at Quebec who have a right to a preference. I have made a proposition to General Howe, which, if he accepts, will give great relief to our prisoners. It is the establishment of an agent, to reside at New York, to see that the prisoners are well used, and to supply them with necessaries.

I should have had no objection to appointing Colonel Root[1] to the command of a regiment, could it possibly be raised upon the terms allowed by Congress, which is a bounty of $20; but by your State and that of Massachusetts having given an additional bounty of $33⅓, not a man can be raised till the eight regiments allotted to your State are full. I have, I may say, unfortunately given seven of the additional regiments to gentlemen of New England, and I was under the strongest hopes that they, from their influence, would have soon filled their regiments; but I cannot suppose that men will enlist for a bounty of $20 with them, when they can get $53⅓ from this State.

I have the honor to be, with esteem and regard, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

Governor Trumbull.

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[1] Jesse Root, subsequently Chief-Justice of Connecticut.

## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, February 1st, 1777.

Sir, — I this minute received your favors of the 24th ultimo, and note the contents, but have not time to be very particular in my answer at this time. I most fully agree with you in the importance of raising and furnishing the new army, and wish it was in my power to do more than I can to forward it, nothing is wanting that I can, and some progress is made therein, and I hope soon to give you a more favorable account. The service there greatly suffers for want of clothing and money. The faster those articles can be forwarded, the more the service will be promoted; and I am certain your Excellency will do everything in your power to remove those obstacles. It is a matter of great difficulty also about arming the men, as we have no intimation how they are to be supplied, nor whether there is any allowance for such as find themselves. Good arms are also very scarce and difficult to be obtained with us.

I am, etc.,

Jon$^{th}$ Trumbull.

General Washington.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Morris Town,
6th February, 1777.

Sir, — I am this evening honored with yours of the 1st instant, and am to thank you for your promise of forwarding the new levies, which I am sure you will perform to the utmost of your abilities.

I have, as I wrote you in my last, pressed Congress to send you forward a supply of money and the proper books to open your Loan Office.

As Mr. Mease, the Clothier-General, is now here, I showed him that part of your letter respecting clothing, and I refer you to him for a letter which he will write to you upon that head.

Instead of hiring arms, as has been the custom heretofore, I would have them purchased of the owners on account of the Continent. They will by these means be kept in better repair, for a man looks upon himself at liberty to use his own firelock as he pleases. But in the purchase of the arms I would have special care taken as to quality, for our stores are already cumbered with useless ones.

I have the honor to be, with sincere regard, sir,
Your most obedient servant,
G$^{o}$. Washington.

Hon. Governor Trumbull.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, February 7th, 1777.

Sir, — I enclose you a copy of a letter just received from Major-General Schuyler, expressing his strong apprehensions of an attack on Ticonderoga, and pressing me to send forward troops, etc. He had doubtless informed your Excellency of the situation of affairs in that quarter. Were the quota of this State raised, I should not consider myself properly authorized to order their march, but according to your mind and direction. (but unhappily that is far from the case). Many difficulties intervene to retard the recruiting service, many of your officers declining, and many embarrassments about appointing and arranging of them, a number yet in captivity, sufficient money not received to pay the premiums, nor any clothing sent to be delivered out, nor advice how or where it is to be had, which is an essential disadvan-

tage, — the very sight of it would be a great stimulus to our fatigued and almost naked soldiers. I understand there is now lodged in this State clothing for two battalions, of scarlet turned up with blue and buff, part of a capture brought into Dartmouth in Massachusetts, — it is said peculiarly thick and strong, and lined, being designed for Canada. Colonel Webb, lately appointed by you, I hear has orders for enough to clothe his regiment, and has taken or is taking it of them. I find they are esteemed more valuable than any others that are expected to be obtained, and fear it will be a ground of contention. I wish to know whether any methods will be taken to make an equality in value of clothes among them, and how the rest are to be supplied. We have and are collecting all the cloth we can in this State for the army, and hope we shall have enough for two battalions; and should wish for your directions whither and how I shall dispose of them, and that a sufficient quantity for the troops expected from this State may be sent and properly lodged within it, and necessary directions about them, and also the premium money, — without both which the service will, as it has already, greatly suffer.

I have not certain evidence, but hope that four battalions, — namely, Colonel Huntington's, and Wyllys's, Douglass's, and Bradley's, — are at least one hundred each, the others less, but cannot say, — very hearty. The smallpox is spreading in many towns, communicated by our cruel enemies to the prisoners they have lately sent out, and by them through the country, — which is an additional delay to the recruiting service. We are constantly doing everything in our power to remove, and hope the difficulties will be surmounted.

It does not seem in my power to send any relief to General Schuyler. The few Continental troops raised are scattered, unpaid, and unclothed. I should therefore have no other way but to send militia. So many of them

are now volunteers near New York, at Providence and New London, and every man of them, in their turns, having been drafted, and very many having suffered extremely in sickness, etc., the last season, and many died, that it would be likewise the sentence of death to order any more, and at this extreme season, to the North, and militia are at best but a poor relief; beside that the frequent calls upon them, and the great fatigues they have suffered, has much tended to give them a distrust to the service, and is one great and principal means of retarding the present enlistments, and would do so more and more. I hope your Excellency will be able to send seasonable succors that way, or that kind Providence will prevent the need of them. It would be the highest possible satisfaction to be able to comply with every reasonable requisition for the public good.

I see by your instructions for recruiting that the one hundred acres of land is mentioned as an encouragement. I am at a loss whether that is to be given to those who engage for three years only, as by the last resolve of Congress, which I have seen, respecting it, the land was granted to those only who should engage during the war. By a letter from Major-General Greene, copy of which is enclosed, am led to suggest that the prisoners lately sent to this State by your Excellency are divided and scattered into several towns and placed in families, where some are willing to labor and to be treated in the same manner as those who are lately gone from us, some of whom behaved well, and some ill. But all claimed the allowance for support, over and above their actual maintenance and wages where they served. I understand that they have been confined in barracks and jails in the Southern States. We had not such barracks to contain them, if it would have been best to keep them in that manner. Their officers have been heretofore very troublesome by pretending to exercise command over the men.

I wish your Excellency's advice as to the most proper mode of treating them, and whether it may be expedient for us to erect such buildings if their behavior should render it necessary.

I observe the contents of your letters of the 24th[1] ultimo, and the great necessity you have of a regular body of troops, on whom alone, under God, any reliance for permanent security and defence can be placed, and am doing everything possible to promote the raising them; but for reasons before mentioned, it has been impossible to forward them more. I hope, however, they will be ready early in the spring. It is a misfortune that cannot be enough lamented that we are so unready to improve so happy an opportunity as now presents to strike a decisive blow this winter. I observe also by your letters that you are doing everything in your power to forward clothing and money for the new levies; but as we feel the want of them so sensibly, I could not forbear to repeat it. If your Excellency should not think it improper to give me discretionary power to use for the recruits in this State any Continental clothing which may be had in these parts unappropriated, I should hope and believe the service will be promoted by it.

Could not a body of men in the Grants, or of the Green Mountain Boys, so called, be very expeditiously raised for the relief of Ticonderoga, if proper encouragement was offered? — unless their having before exerted themselves and being denied any pay should have given them an incurable aversion to the service.

I am, sir, with great respect and regard,
Your most obedient servant,
JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

To General Washington.

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[1] *Vide supra* and Sparks's Writings of Washington, iv. 294.

## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Morris Town,
February 9th, 1777.

Sir, — You will receive herewith sixty thousand dollars for the use of the recruiting service in your State, which I desire you will distribute among the officers in proportion to their wants.

I desire you will not appropriate any part of this money to the reimbursement of the sum advanced to Colonel Sheldon, as I every day expect an order from Congress which will enable me to give you a draft for the whole sum upon the Loan Office.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir,
Your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

Governor Trumbull.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Morris Town,
February 10th, 1777.

Sir, — The impossibility of keeping the small-pox from spreading through the army in the natural way has determined us, upon the most mature deliberation, to inoculate all the new troops that have not had this disorder. I have wrote to General Parsons to fix upon some proper place and to superintend the inoculation of the troops of your State, taking it for granted that you would have no objection to so salutary a measure, upon which depends not only the lives of all the men who have not had the small-pox, but also the health of the whole army, which would otherwise soon become a hospital of the most loathsome kind. Proper steps are taking to inoculate the troops already here, and all the Southern

levies will undergo the operation as they pass Philadelphia.

I have wrote to the States of New York and Rhode Island to have their troops also inoculated, and I hope our army will by these precautions be entirely free of that terrible disorder the ensuing campaign. As the troops from Massachusetts and New Hampshire are ordered immediately up to Ticonderoga, they can (as was the case last year) be inoculated there.

I am, with the greatest esteem and respect, sir,
Your most obedient servant,
G° Washington.

Governor Trumbull.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Morris Town,
February 11th, 1777.

Sir, — I did myself the pleasure to write you yesterday, and informed you that I had sent you sixty thousand dollars for the recruiting service in your State. After I had sent the money off I received a letter from General Knox advising me that he was under the most pressing necessity for twenty thousand dollars for the use of the Ordnance Department, but that he could not get that sum in the State of Massachusetts. I must therefore desire that you will reserve that sum for General Knox, for which he will either draw or send. I am furnished with the following resolve of Congress of the 29th January: "That the Treasurer of the United States be directed to give order for the payment of thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three and one third dollars to the State of Connecticut out of the Continental Loan Office in that State, in payment of that sum advanced by Governor Trumbull to Colonel Sheldon, at the

request of General Washington, for raising and equipping a regiment of light horse, the said State to be accountable; and that the President acquaint General Washington with this resolution."

I have the honor to be, with great esteem and regard,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
G°. WASHINGTON.

HON. GOVERNOR TRUMBULL, CONNECTICUT.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRIS TOWN,
February 20th 1777.

SIR, — A letter from you to General Heath, inclosing a petition from the officers taken at Princetown for liberty to send one of the party into New York for their baggage, was transmitted to me by General McDougall, General Heath having gone to Massachusetts.

I am so sensible that these people, by remaining any length of time in the country, not only acquire a knowledge of our affairs, but spread a very pernicious influence among the people, that I think it will be best to send them immediately in, and obtain an equal number of our officers in exchange. I therefore desire that they may be sent towards Providence, with orders to halt within eight or ten miles, till General Spencer or General Arnold is informed of their being there, that they may direct in what manner they may be sent in, so as not to see anything of the disposition of our troops. Be pleased to make the eldest officer sign a return specifying their names and ranks, and transmit it to me.

In a letter of the 7th February you desire to know what will be the best manner of disposing of the privates. I think they had better be cantoned in the country as

near together as convenient; and if any of them are tradesmen, and are willing to work at their occupations, they may be usefully employed.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Gº. Washington.

P. S. If you can think of any more convenient way of sending in the prisoners than to Providence, I leave it to you. G. W.

Governor Trumbull.

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TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, February 24th, 1777.

Sir,—I am now to acknowledge the receipt of your several favors of the 31st[1] January, and the first, sixth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh instant; also of sixty thousand dollars, of which I have forwarded twenty thousand to General Knox agreeable to your request. The remaining forty thousand I shall divide out to the colonels of our battalions as needed, having regard to the sums they have already received for that service.

Upon request of Congress a law was passed by the General Assembly in December, 1775, to prevent and punish the harboring or concealing deserters, and for returning them to the service they have deserted. If any further regulations should appear necessary, they will doubtless cheerfully be come into.

What clothing is in this State we have ordered to be delivered to the colonels of our battalions. There will be probably enough for four battalions, of which the clothing for five is collected or manufactured in this State. The residue was sent here by the Continental agents. The quantity is much less than we should have

[1] Sparks's Writings of Washington, iv. 305.

had, had we retained the clothing purchased here and sent to the Northern army and to the Continental stores in the State of New York. Colonel Samuel B. Webb's battalion is likewise provided for. The clothing for our remaining four battalions we have applied for to Messrs. Livingston and Trumbull,[1] who have referred us to the Clothier-General, to whom we shall apply, and hope we may succeed, unless your Excellency shall point out some other method of furnishing them.

Part of the check-books for this State are received, and lodged with the Loan Officer; the remainder, we are assured by the treasurer, will be forwarded in season. The Loan Officer hath already borrowed seventy thousand dollars, which will nearly answer the drafts made upon him.

When the new army has got through inoculation for the small-pox, I flatter myself it will not only contribute to their health and safety, but also that of the inhabitants. Our returning soldiers have spread the infection into almost every town in the State, — a mischief that cannot happen when the army are out of danger of receiving it. Though at present the inoculating such numbers may expose us to have it spread from them, we have concerted the best measures in our power to prevent the mischief, and are happy to find General Parsons disposed to give us his assistance to render them as effectual as possible.

[*Signature omitted.*]

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, February 25th, 1777.

Sir, — I am honored with yours of the 6th instant, and observe the contents. We are under great, and I fear insurmountable, difficulties with respect to procuring

[1] Joseph Trumbull, Commissary-General Revolutionary Army.

arms for the Continental troops raising in this State, although all persons capable have been employed near two years in manufacturing them. Many of our best arms were stopped the last year at Roxbury and at the end of both campaigns at the Northward; and a great number were lost in the retreat from, and other movements about, New York the last season; and many others have been turned into the stores by sick men, and all remain out of this State. Many of these were purchased by and belonged to this State. From these causes, notwithstanding our utmost endeavors, the number of good arms are considerably diminished. We shall, however, use our best endeavors to furnish the new levies as far as possible and in the manner you propose. But if we should not be able, I hope your Excellency can make up the deficiency from the Continental stores. You observe that your stores are already cumbered with useless arms. I presume the situation of your army is such that the repair of them cannot be attended to, and would therefore move your Excellency that as many of them capable of being made useful as may be, be sent as early as possible to my care, and I will take immediate and the best orders to have them put into good condition and rendered fit for service. I had near two hundred barrels sent me last year by General Schuyler, and had them repaired soon, and they are now in the army, very useful and good arms. I move it to your Excellency with a sincere and single view to promote the good of the service.

I am, sir, with the highest esteem and regard,

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

[*Signature omitted.*]

His Excellency General Washington.

## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

LEBANON, February 26th, 1777.

SIR, — Major Wyllys, having returned to New York, is again permitted to return home upon his parole, to negotiate his exchange, and yesterday presented me with a letter from Mr. Loring, Commissary of prisoners, in which is the following paragraph: "Having received a letter from General Washington by Brigade-Major Wyllys desiring he might be exchanged the first after Captains Dearborn and Trowbridge, who go for Captains Williams and Delaplace, he is permitted to go out again on his parole, engaging to send in Captain Luke, of the Fifty-fifth Regiment, in return, which, when effected, will release him from captivity;" and desired me to give orders that Captain Luke might be sent in accordingly.

It would have given me great pleasure to have been able to gratify him in this request, but as I consider the exchange of prisoners as your Excellency's province, I can only refer him to you, and entreat your Excellency to order the proposed exchange to take place. The bearer will return to me immediately, and I shall hope for the pleasure of receiving your Excellency's permission by him to send in Captain Luke as proposed, as Major Wyllys has an offer of a company in the new army, which he proposes to accept if released. I apprehend it is of consequence that he should be speedily exchanged, that the raising the company may not be delayed.

I am, etc.

[*Signature omitted.*]

WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Morris Town,
3d March, 1777.

Sir, — I am to acknowledge the receipt of your several favors of the 21st,[1] 24th, 25th, and 26th February, which came to hand yesterday. It gives me pleasure to hear that your State has come to the resolution of granting the colonial bounty to Colonel Webb's additional regiment; and if the other States will do the same, it will in a great measure obviate the objection which I made to their granting a higher bounty than was allowed by the Resolves of Congress. The reasons which you gave for a deviation from the Resolve carry weight with them, but I assure you, you are mistaken when you think that the necessaries of life are cheaper to the Southward than the Northward. It is true that less clothing is sufficient for them; but as they manufacture little among themselves, they are obliged to pay most extravagantly for what they wear.

I have ordered the Clothier-General to supply each State with their proportion of what clothing, of different kinds, are in the public stores; but you must be sensible that a very full proportion of the clothing purchased for the use of the continent, out of the prize vessels, must be brought on for the use of the Southern Continental troops, as the country from whence they come furnishes scarce any woollen goods. To prevent confusion and disappointment in future; I beg that no clothing may be stopped upon the way without a particular order from the Clothier-General or myself.

I am glad to hear that the sum of money lately sent to you, with the assistance of the Loan Office, is like to answer your wants; and I hope that, as the obstructions

[1] Sparks's Letters to Washington, i. 342.

which before retarded the recruiting service are now removed, that business will go on briskly.

Inoculation at Philadelphia and in this neighborhood has been attended with amazing success; and I have not the least doubt but your troops will meet the same.

As I have, in many of my late letters, mentioned the distress that the continent in general is under for the want of arms, I need only repeat to you the necessity that there is for making a strict collection of the public arms, and purchasing such as can be obtained from private persons.

Some time ago General Schuyler wrote to me, and informed me that there were a great number of arms returned into the stores at Albany, wanting repair. I directed that they should be sent down to the most convenient place for that purpose; but perhaps that may not yet be done. You will therefore please to make inquiry into the matter, and if they remain there, have them repaired and put into the hands of the troops.

All the arms fit for the field have been constantly repaired as fast as it could be done. What I call useless, are such as are so light and thin in the barrel that they would not bear a charge with safety, at the best, much less after being eat up with rust.

All the officers taken at Princetown having been ordered to be sent in, Captain Luke will go in of course, and Major Wyllys will be thereby released from his parole.

As I am about endeavoring to make a settlement with General Howe for the expenses heretofore incurred on account of the prisoners on both sides, I beg you will furnish me with an account of what has been disbursed by your State towards the maintenance of the British prisoners that have been at different times sent to be quartered among you. And I wish that in future a very regular account may be kept.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Hon. Governor Trumbull. Gº Washington.

## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

LEBANON, 8th March, 1777.

SIR, — I trouble you with the enclosed papers lately sent to me, respecting prisoners cantoned, by court-martial, to confinement in Simsbury Mines in this State, and sent thither agreeable to your Excellency's order, with an account of expenses incurred for their support, etc. I shall take it as a favor in behalf of the Committee of said town, if the necessary orders are given for the refunding the expenses they have occasioned.

I am, with every sentiment of esteem and regard,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

GENERAL WASHINGTON.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

LEBANON, 10th March, 1777.

SIR, — I acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 3d instant, received day before yesterday, and observe the contents. I have wrote to the Clothier-General by this express, and have stated what I understand to be their condition relative to the clothes for our nine and a part of battalions raising in this State, and shall wait his approbation and further orders as mentioned in mine to him. Our new enlisted soldiers are under inoculation. Have heard of nothing unsuccessful among them. I hope our quota will be a good measure raised, answerable to your expectations. The opening of the spring and entering upon the necessary business of it, will bring them to a choice; and I believe the old soldiers will enter the service with alacrity.

I have this day wrote to General Schuyler, on the paragraph relative to old arms in the stores at Albany. Apprehend some relief on that score from him. Have

instructed a person in the Commissary-General's employ, now in Massachusetts State, to purchase a supply for four regiments, if to be had. Shall send out others in this State to purchase whatever number can be obtained. Indeed, great attention hath been had to that article in this State, and no endeavors are wanting on our part.

Expect to give the necessary orders to-morrow to send in Captain Luke and the officers with him; and 'tis with pleasure I can inform Major Wyllys that his parole will be released on the going in of Captain Luke. I think it may be best to send these officers to New York, and shall send you the captain's receipt when obtained.

Enclosed are extracts from two letters very surprisingly brought to light, — one from General Wentworth to his sister Fisher, the other from John Cochran to his wife. The originals, with several others, I sent last week to the President of the Council at New Hampshire. The eight other letters mentioned are not come to hand.

Eleven ships lately appeared off the harbor of New London. It was at first thought their intention was to pass up the Sound. Yesterday they hauled in between Fisher's Island and the main; are landing some troops and setting up their tents on the island. One of the ships is a large man-of-war, and two others smaller. It may be their design to take hold of New London and secure to themselves that harbor, or else to get wood and fresh provisions, possibly from the main. Hope they will be prevented.

Brigadier-General Knox's receipt for twenty thousand dollars is not [*sic*] paid to him, agreeable to your request of the 11th February last, is enclosed, and you will replace the same in the way which suits best.

I am, with esteem and regard, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, March 21st, 1777.

Sir, — Your favor of the 6th[1] instant was delivered to me the 14th, by General Sullivan. I have ordered two thousand men to be drafted from our militia, and marched to Peekskill with all expedition, agreeable to your request. They will be under the command of Brigadier-General Wadsworth, and will attend your orders. I have given them the assurances you have authorized me to do, respecting the small-pox. Flatter myself General Parsons will, in ten days or a fortnight, send you a battalion of Continental troops from this State, and hope more will soon follow.

We are using every means in our power to forward raising our Continental battalions. Though the success has not yet been equal to our wishes, we do not despair bringing them into the field, or a good part of them, the ensuing month.

I have been greatly alarmed with an account of your ill state of health, but had the pleasure, yesterday, to hear you was mending. May God preserve your life and restore your health, for the sake of your country as well as your friends and your own, is the sincere wish of

Sir, with highest esteem and regard,

Your obedient, humble servant,

Jon$^{th}$ Trumbull.

To General Washington.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Morris Town,
23d March, 1777.

Sir, — I am honored with yours of the 8th and 10th instant, the first accompanying an account of the Com-

[1] Sparks's Writings of Washington, iv. 351.

mittee of Simsbury against prisoners who were sent there by my order. There is no part of the charge to be objected against, but that of £9–6–0 said to be for the expense and trouble of the Committee themselves. I cannot see how either could have been incurred in so trivial a matter, or if any, that it could have been so large a proportion. However, I think the State had better pay what is reasonable and right, and make a Continental charge of it.

I wish you may not have been deceived in the forwardness of your regiments, for I can assure you the returns fall far short of what was given out. Chandler's, Swift's, and Charles Webb's, by General Parsons's letter of the 6th instant, had only eighty men each, though the latter sent his son down some weeks ago, and drew four hundred stand of arms, assuring me that his father had as many men ready. None of the other regiments were half full. Durkee's had only one hundred and forty men. From this state of facts it is evident that if the most spirited exertions are not made, the enemy will take the field before we can draw a sufficient head of men together to oppose them. I am informed that the State of Massachusetts have called upon their different districts to furnish as many men as are sufficient to make up their quota of the eighty-eight battalions, and that they have succeeded by this mode far better than if they had proceeded in their usual line of enlistment. I don't know whether your State can exercise such powers, but if you can, you could never make use of them at a better time. From the present appearance of the weather the spring promises to be a forward one; and from every account, the enemy only wait for good weather and good roads to take the field.

The reinforcement of Russians spoke of by Governor Wentworth is mentioned in several letters that have been thrown out, I believe with an intent to divide and

intimidate. For although I do not doubt but they would employ Russians, or any other barbarians, to accomplish their designs, I do not think there is a probability that they can be here shortly, if at all.

Governor Livingston informed me, a few days ago, that he understood that Governor Franklin, by some means or other, continued to carry on a correspondence with Mr. Hugh Wallace, of New York; and a gentleman of the name of Livingston, who went into New York and took protection, but not liking his situation returned again, informed upon oath, that he heard that Governor Franklin granted protections to such as would take them, in Connecticut; and that one Shackles, of Middletown, carried on a correspondence with Miles Sherbrook, of New York. This, Livingston says he had from Sherbrook's clerk. I don't know that the foregoing amounts to positive proof against Governor Franklin, but it ought, at least, to put you upon your guard, and have him narrowly watched.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Gº. Washington.

Governor Trumbull.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Morris Town,
29th March, 1777.

Sir, — I am honored with yours of the 21st by express, and return you my most sincere thanks for your ready compliance with my request for two thousand militia. A late manœuvre of the enemy convinces us of the necessity that there is for an immediate march of this body of men to Peekskill.

I imagine upon information of our weakness at that post (the Eastern militia having just left it), and that

there were a valuable parcel of stores there, last Sunday a frigate and four transports ran up the river; they landed a number of men, said to be four regiments of British, drove off General McDougal, who had but two hundred and twenty men at that time with him, and burnt the storehouses, with what stores they contained. As I have not yet had a particular account from General McDougal, I don't know the quantity or value, but I hope there are not many of the military kind lost. I am informed by a gentleman who is come down, that rum, sugar, and molasses are the principal. The next day the troops went on board and the ships fell down again.

Perhaps, finding their conquest so easy, they may be induced to return again, and attempt the forts, which are at present too weakly garrisoned to make much resistance.

I yesterday received information from an intelligent gentleman, who says, "The enemy are steering off, first on to Staten Island and then to New York. Last Sunday at least two thousand crossed on to the Island, and I believe are there yet. It is a fact that New York is fuller of troops than it has been some time past." If this should prove true, I don't know what other motive they can have for withdrawing their troops from Jersey, but to go up the North River. General Arnold also says in a letter of the 11th instant, that ten transports, appearing full of troops, passed Point Judith to the westward, on the 4th. This also looks as if a collection of troops was making at New York for some purpose or other.

To frustrate any designs of this kind, I beg that not only your militia, but your Continental troops, may be hastened on with all expedition; for if I am not speedily reinforced in Jersey, the enemy may safely leave small garrisons in Amboy and Brunswick, which they have fortified strongly, and make use of the residue, or such number as they may think necessary, to seize upon the forts and passes upon the North River. When they have

once possessed them, a small force will maintain them, especially as they have the command of the water. The command of the passages over the North River and the free navigation of it would prove fatal to us, as the Eastern and Southern States would not only be cut off from each other, but Ticonderoga must also be evacuated for want of supplies. I wrote you fully on the 23d, pressing you to fill up your regiments by drafts, if it could not be done by any other means. To this I have not had your answer.

I have the pleasure to inform you that a vessel arrived at Philadelphia a few days ago from France, with eleven thousand stand of arms and some other military stores. The accounts of the intentions of France were most favorable.

The late arrival of arms from Portsmouth is so ample, that we shall have no future complaint for the want of them. I shall therefore expect every man of the new levies in the field shortly, — those who have had the small-pox, immediately; and those who have not, as soon as they recover from inoculation.

I am, sir, with the most perfect esteem,

Your obedient, humble servant,

G° Washington.

Governor Trumbull.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Morris Town,
31st March, 1777.

Sir, — Since I did myself the pleasure to write to you yesterday, I have received information that the enemy have embarked three thousand men, some said with an intent to go to Chesapeake Bay, others, to go up the North River again. As this last is the most probable, I beg you will hasten your militia to Peekskill with the

utmost expedition, and also what Continental troops are ready. Should the enemy get up the river before they arrive, they would meet with little or no opposition.

I am, sir, with the greatest respect,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

Governor Trumbull.

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WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Morris Town, April 12th, 1777.

Sir, — As Mr. Fornandez, an officer just released from captivity by an exchange, informs me that large and weekly supplies of fresh provisions are brought into York, — which, he was informed by a friend of ours, came from Connecticut, but whether by water or by land he does not know, — this information I have thought proper to transmit to your Honor by the earliest opportunity, that you may adopt such measures as its importance demands, and which shall seem most likely to prevent a practice so wicked, and so injurious in its consequences. It is probable the most common mode of conveyance is by water, and that the supplies are from those who live on the Sound. However, it will be well to have the disaffected bordering on the State of York watched with a scrupulous care, as well as those contiguous to the Sound.

Mr. Fornandez adds that Colonel Rogers and other officers whose names he does not recollect, have left York on the recruiting service, and gone into Connecticut, as he was advised. It is also said by a Mr. Deputy Commissary Frink, who has been just exchanged too, that Selleck, of Stamford, is frequently in the City of York, and that one John Hart is gone to Rhode Island to pass counterfeit money. It highly imports us to detect and apprehend these villains, whose crimes are of great enormity; and I should hope if this intelligence is commu-

nicated to some of our prudent, trusty friends in different parts of the State, in those most favorable to their views, that it might be effected. Rogers is an active instrument in the enemy's hands, and his conduct has a peculiar claim to our notice.

I have nothing special to mention respecting the enemy. As yet they have made no movement; but from our advices of their preparations, there are strong reasons to believe that they are upon the eve of doing it, and from a variety of combining circumstances, it appears that Philadelphia will be the first object of their attention. I only regret that I have not the means the exigency of our affairs requires, and that a strange, unaccountable languor seems but too generally to prevail at a time when the preservation of our rights and of all that is dear calls loudly for the most vigorous and active exertions.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, 14th April, 1777.

Sir, — I am favored with your Excellency's letter of the 23d ultimo, also with those of 29th and 31st same month, which came safe to hand. Yesterday received your Proclamation of 6th April, relative to deserters. Mine of 21st March informed you of the order given for marching two thousand militia to Peekskill, agreeable to your request, and that Brigadier-General Wadsworth was to take the command. Want of health prevented General Wadsworth from engaging in that service. Brigadier-General Erastus Wolcott supplies his place, and is, before this time, at the place of his destination, as I hope are also the full complement of his command.

Before the receipt of your favor of 23d March, I had assigned to each town in this State their several quotas of the Continental troops to be raised in same, and issued my proclamation which accompanied the assignment, most earnestly recommending the immediate filling up their respective numbers. This not fulfilling my wishes, another Proclamation and Order is gone forth from the Provincial Council of Safety, copy of which you have herewith, requiring the several militia companies to furnish their respective deficiencies by an immediate draft, unless their quotas are filled up by voluntary enlistments. The drafted men to be held in service until 1 January next, unless sooner discharged by the enlistment of others in their room into the Continental Army. The drafts are to join the Continental companies under Continental officers, and march to service as soon as they have passed inoculation for the small-pox. This measure, I have great reason to hope, will prove effectual, and I trust I shall have the pleasure soon to afford your Excellency the full complement of men from this State, for this campaign. The strange delay of raising and completing the standing Continental Army has been very unhappy. I wish this substitute may prove agreeable. Shall wish to have your Excellency's sentiments upon it. If this State's proportion of the permanent army should not be completed by the expiration of the term for which the drafts are taken, the like measure will, probably, be repeated till that desirable object can be attained.

Particular note is made of that part of your letter of 23d March, respecting Governor Franklin and Mr. Shaylor.[1] Sundry letters written by the former to his friends in New York have been intercepted, and handed me, also one protection of his given to a certain Mr. Ketchum, of Norwalk. A careful watch is, and will be, kept upon

[1] This name is written "Shackles" in the letter referred to, *q. v.*

their conduct for further discoveries. The intercepted letters are directed to Governor Skeene, Mr. Wallace, Colonel Fanning, and the Rev. Mr. Jonathan Odell, and Rev. Mr. Bowden. That to Mr. Odell is most worthy of notice.

A fleet of the enemy, forty sail or more, passed New London westward 13th instant. They are from New Port, whether with troops is uncertain. 'Tis given out they have taken none.

I am, etc.,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

MORRIS TOWN, April 21st, 1777.

SIR, — I yesterday received the favor of your Honor's letter of the 16th,[1] with its enclosures, for which and your attention to the publishing of my Proclamation, I am greatly obliged. I fear all the militia intended for General Wolcott's command have not arrived at Peekskill yet, as not more than eight hundred were there by my last advices from that quarter, and which are of a later date than your favor.

I mark with peculiar satisfaction and thanks your constant and unwearied assiduity in giving the service every aid in your power; at the same time I cannot but regret the occasion which compels us again to bring troops into the field for a shorter period than during the war or for three years at least, but we must adapt our measures to the exigency of our affairs. I would fain hope that many of the drafts, before the time expires for which they are called out, by the industry and care of the

[1] The letter referred to is probably that of the 14th, printed above.

officers, may be induced to engage for a longer term, that your quota may be completed by regular enlistments being continued in the States for that purpose.

Mr. Franklin's conduct is truly reprehensible, and I am amazed that men under such engagements should not be more regardful of the ties of honor.

I am, sir, with sentiments of great respect,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, May 4th, 1777.

Sir, — The attention of the enemy appears of late to be much turned upon this State. We have for some time been repeatedly advised of it; we now realize it. A few days since they landed at Fairfield, to the number of near three thousand, — it is said under General Erskine, — and made a forced march to Danbury, about twenty-two miles, and there destroyed seventeen hundred barrels of pork, fifty ditto beef, seven hundred bushels of wheat, near seventeen hundred bushels corn, rye, and wheat, sixteen hundred tents, and many other valuable articles belonging to the United States. We had no standing troops in this State, and could only collect the militia in that quarter to oppose them, who rallied as soon as possible, under the command of Major-General Wooster, Brigadier-Generals Arnold and Silliman, who had several skirmishes, and harassed and galled the enemy on their hasty return, whereby they suffered considerable loss. We have buried thirty of their dead; they carried off some, we know not how many. The loss on our side about twenty killed, seventy wounded. Among the wounded, and supposed mortally, General Wooster, who behaved with great spirit and bravery; so did General

Arnold. By the prisoners, some relenting tories, and some of our friends who fell into and have escaped the hands of the enemy, we are informed that their next designs are upon New Haven, New London, or Saybrook, to penetrate the country, and join somewhere up Connecticut River, where they expect to be met by General Carlton. This State is, no doubt, more in consideration of the enemy, as it is the great source, among the New England States, of provisions both for the army and the country; and by their frequent attacks on the different parts, they know they keep us in alarm, and so much divert us from our husbandry as will soon reduce us to that want which both the army and country must sensibly feel. The Congress have already given liberty to have two battalions of our Continental forces stationed in this State. We hope your Excellency will give orders for so many at least, or as many more as shall be thought proper to be stationed in this Colony on the sea-coast. We are in great hopes our quota of the Continental army will soon be completed. Numbers from each regiment are already gone forward. We have really need of aid at this time; our western towns on the sea-coast greatly fatigued and distressed, lying open and unguarded against the enemy, who are very near them, and may in a few hours be surprised both by land and water.

We are in great hopes the army with you is well and respectably reinforced from the southward, sufficient to oppose and annoy the enemy in that quarter; and we fear a defection of many in these exposed towns, unless timely supported. Our militia are almost worn out by repeated calls which continued not only in the summer, but through the winter and spring, to the State of Rhode Island and New York, within our own at New London, Stamford, Greenwich, etc.; and now the season opens for husbandry the enemy are sufficiently apprised of the advantages they may gain by harassing us at this season.

The county of Fairfield, where is raised the greatest surplus of provisions, must soon be ruined. The enemy are in possession of the Saw Pitts and Rye. If a regiment or two were stationed at Horseneck, or thereabouts, would not only secure against the frequent incursions of the enemy on those towns, but also at the same time be a check on them against their marching up towards the Peekskills, as they might be readily thrown on their rear.

[*Signature omitted.*]

General Washington.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Hartford, 18th May, 1777.

Sir, — Last evening I had the honor to receive yours of the 11th[1] instant. That the enemy will harass our coasts, and injure the maritime towns by sudden debarkations and attacks, is beyond a doubt. At the same time I join with you, that their capital object is either Philadelphia, or Hudson's River. Am sorry to find the forces with you are so deficient, or inadequate, to check the progress of the enemy. The measures hitherto adopted in this State have not brought in a number of men as wished. The Assembly have gone into a mode I expect will nearly fill our eight battalions, our proportion of the sixteen, and of the artillery or matrosses, and what falls short will be filled with substitutes to serve till the 1st of January next. Enclosed is a copy of the Act of our Assembly, passed for that purpose. It was our expectation that the whole one hundred and four battalions, light horse, and artillery men, being completed, that those needful for the several main bodies or corps at the posts you mention, there would be sufficient

[1] Sparks's Writings of Washington, iv. 412.

to be stationed at places more immediately threatened. I conceived that the Honorable Congress meant it, by the encouragements given us that two battalions might be stationed at places more immediately threatened. I conceived that the Honorable Congress meant it, by the encouragements given us that two battalions might be stationed on our sea-coasts. I requested General Parsons that the troops might be inoculated in the western part of this State, and while convalescent might be stationed in Stamford, Horseneck, and at Danbury, when our proportion, that is, our nine and half battalions and matrosses, filled. I can't give up the hopes that two regiments may be stationed here, as there is great difficulty to raise two or three more by the State, which must be done, or the advantages the enemy will have over us will be intolerable. To suffer them to get footing at New London, will be attended with very unhappy consequences. It is necessary that all our people be classed for the army, for the husbandry, teamsters, and artificers. If the State must raise two or three more regiments for themselves, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to arm them. So many arms were carried out of this State to the camp near Boston, and the last year to New York, which were retained or never returned, that we are extremely exhausted; hoping there would be no occasion for this State to raise more than the proportion mentioned above. And although three thousand stand have been brought in, yet I thought we might expect some further supply for our battalions out of the army, imported to Portsmouth in the "Amphitrite," as likewise some of the field-pieces and other military stores, ball, flints, tin plates, etc. I sent off twelve horses with men, and ten or twelve teams to fetch them hither, to remain till your orders could be known, and informed Colonel Langdon that whatever he sent me would be in the way to whatever place you should see fit to order them. But

neither he nor General Heath dare comply with my request, and so my expectation failed; and I am obliged to direct the stores to return, and the teams to go into Boston, to bring off some stores of provisions from there, not equally serviceable for us. It may be just enough for me, for being too officious; but I hope an error on that hand will be easily pardoned, when reformed. Whether it will not be reasonable to allow this State the use of some field-pieces, arms, etc., and when our troops are filled, two battalions may not be stationed here, I leave to your consideration. I shall do everything in my power to forward the troops from hence to your aid; but of their marches I conclude General Parsons gives frequent information.

The harbor of New London is an object worthy of attention, and our frontiers towards New York have been sadly neglected and exposed, and not only Danbury stores destroyed, but quantities of cattle and small stock taken from Horseneck and on its borders in the State of New York, and driven off to the enemy, and a considerable number of our men fallen off and gone to them.

By a letter of the 16th instant, I am informed by General Silliman that one Captain Chorter came out of New York the day before, says the enemy have sent for troops from Rhode Island, that their bridge of boats is finished, that it was talked in the city of an attack on Philadelphia, and that the enemy intended soon to get possession of New London. By another from General Spencer of the same day, he says a deserter who came from New Port the 15th informs that the troops arrived at New Port this week; in the transports were only the grenadiers and infantry belonging to two regiments; that on Wednesday last it was given in public orders that tomorrow morning two and an half regiments of the Hessians and one British Regiment (the Sixty-third) be in

readiness to embark, he supposes for New York. Caution is necessary on the shores of Connecticut.

I am, with great esteem and regard, sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

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TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

HARTFORD, May 22d, 1777.

SIR, — As it may be of consequence for you to be acquainted with every movement of the enemy, would inform your Excellency, that by a letter this day received from Governor Bradford, dated the 20th instant, have intelligence that on the forenoon of that day twenty-seven sail left New Port and appeared to be bound up Sound, and that they learnt by some deserters, before that time, that two Hessian Regiments and a half and the Sixty-third British Regiment were under orders to embark last Saturday. This fleet, I understand, was last night seen to pass Saybrook, standing westward towards New York. These frequent appearances of their ships and fleets upon our coasts, and traversing our shores, keep our sea coasts especially under continual apprehensions and alarms, and by calling our husbandmen from the field greatly threaten us with scarcity and distress.

Have acknowledged the receipt of your favor of the 11th instant, by mine of the 18th, to which refer, and must beg your kind attention and answer to the matters therein contained; and will only add thereto, that upon laying our distressed situation before the Congress, requesting the aid of some Continental troops to be here stationed, they referred the matter to the Board of War, who were of opinion that the enclosed Resolve of the 10th of December, 1776, relative to the two battalions, has not been superseded, and therefore no occasion for a

new one for that purpose, for which reasons, and those mentioned in my last, can't but still hope your Excellency will spare us those two battalions.

I am, with great esteem and regard,

Your most obedient, humble servant.

[*Signature omitted.*]

To his Excellency General Washington.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Morris Town,
May 23d, 1777.

Sir, — I was yesterday honored with your letter of the 18th instant. As I could only repeat the observations contained in my letter of the 11th, upon your request for two regiments to remain in Connecticut, I must beg leave to refer your attention to them, and to a few more which I shall now subjoin. If the several battalions designed to compose the army were complete, I should then hope a few troops might be spared to guard those places most accessible to parties of the enemy and their cruisers; but as their state is very different, it cannot be done, unless we endanger objects of the last importance to us. I shall not trouble you with a minute detail of the forces assembled at this time from the different States. By the last return from Peekskill on the 10th, not more than three hundred and thirty Connecticut troops were there then. In addition to these, there is a detachment here, under Lieutenant-Colonel Butler, consisting of about men. I will not comment upon this subject, because I know it will not give you less pain than it does myself; and my only design in mentioning it, is to show I have but too just grounds for my anxiety and desire that troops should come on. I wish those assembled as yet, from some other States, did not bear a proportion

too analogous to this. When those from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island do arrive, my present intention is to post a respectable number about the White Plains, to act as an army or detachment of observation, etc., and from which your State, as far as I am able to judge, will be more likely to be protected against any capital attempts of the enemy, than any other. It will be impossible to secure every place against their small marauding, plundering parties, but nothing will be so probable to effect it as our drawing our strength to a point, which will oblige them to do the same. If we divide and act in detachments, so will they.

I am extremely sorry you should have been at so much trouble and expense in sending to Colonel Langdon for part of the military stores in his hands. His refusal, and that of General Heath, I am persuaded, you will consider right, and founded in necessity upon mature reflection. All the stores are coming to Springfield, where they will be deposited in the public magazine, except such as will be immediately wanted for the army; and I feel myself extremely unhappy in not having it in my power to consent that a part should be appropriated as you request. Our stores will by no means authorize me to do otherwise than to keep them for the forming army. Were they once let out, how could I collect them, or how could I be answerable for them to the States at large? They are not more than equal to our certain demands; and in respect to artillery, the quantity imported and fit for the field is far inferior to that we are to oppose and what we want. I have, with pain, been obliged to refuse other requisitions of the same nature, and am concerned I should have been laid under the necessity, when the expediency of preventing the stores being scattered throughout the States required it.

I am much obliged by the copy of the Act you were

pleased to transmit me, and I only hope its effects may be equal to your wishes.

I have nothing of importance to communicate in the military line here. I am told, from the last advices from France, things seem to be in a favorable train, and that Spain appears to be equally disposed to render us every assistance.

Governor Tryon, it is reported, is dead of the wound he received in the Danbury expedition. How far it is true, I know not. It is also said seventeen ships came in at Sandy Hook on the 22d, and more were in the offing.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem and respect,

Your most obedient servant,

G$^{o}$. Washington.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Morris Town, May 26th, 1777.

Sir, — I was yesterday evening honored with your letter of the 22d instant. It is certainly of importance that I should have the earliest intelligence of the enemy's movements, and I beg leave to thank you for the information you have been pleased to transmit on that head.

Your anxiety for troops to remain in Connecticut, and my inability to grant them, when I examine matters upon a large, and I believe just, scale, distress me much. I assure you, sir, no requisition has more weight with me than yours, nor will ever be more readily granted when circumstances will admit, and when I think it will not, in its consequences, be injurious to the general good. I must take the liberty of referring you to my letters of the 11th and 23d for my reasons why we should draw our forces to a point, and which, I trust, upon considera-

tion, will appear good and satisfactory. A capital object in the enemy's plan is to divide and distract our attention. For this purpose has the division under Lord Piercy been kept so long at Rhode Island, expecting from thence, that the apprehension of an invasion, or their penetrating the country, would prevent any troops coming from the eastward. Could I but assemble all our forces, our situation would be respectable, and such, I should hope, as would compel General Howe to employ his together, or to hazard their destruction. On the other hand, whilst the quotas from the several States are so extremely deficient, should they be divided, and act in detachments, there will be just grounds to apprehend our ruin.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

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TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Hartford, 9th June, 1777.

Sir,—I have to acquaint your Excellency that several of the regiments of militia in this State, ordered in the service of the United States the last campaign, are still unpaid; and many of the soldiers belonging to said Regiments have enlisted into the Continental Army, and appear very desirous to receive their wages for their former services, before they join the army. I heartily wish that every ground of uneasiness might be removed out of the way of their proceeding with alacrity, and engaging with spirit in the defence of their country; and indeed many of them want the money to leave for the support of their families. The Treasury of this State is so exhausted, that at present it is impossible that they should be paid here, which otherwise should have ordered, thereby to promote the general service.

Must, therefore, earnestly request your Excellency to order payment upon their proper application.

I am, with great esteem and regard,

Your Excellency's very obedient and humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

His Excellency General Washington.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

HARTFORD, 9th June, 1777.

SIR, — I am to acknowledge the favor of yours of the 7th[1] April last, enclosing the pay abstract of the Tenth Regiment of the Connecticut Militia, from October to January last, representing the unreasonable disproportion of officers was an objection to giving the necessary orders for payment. Am now to acquaint your Excellency that the regiment was ordered to join the Continental Army in New York, in August last, which service they cheerfully engaged in, and continued to perform until the 27th day of September, during which time, by the reason of particular circumstances of the army, great numbers sickened, and many others on their return home, by which means the regiment was greatly weakened and distressed; that in the latter end of October the regiment was again ordered into service, when the officers esteemed it their duty to attend, and the privates being prevented as above, the number which arrived at the place of rendezvous being small, rendered the party at that post too weak to discharge the supernumerary officers, as they consented to go on all foraging and scouting parties as privates, to promote the public service, and would add strength in case of an attack. As the privates in the regiment, by reason of sickness most probably occasioned by their late service, were prevented from marching, take leave to suggest, whether it be

[1] Sparks's Writings of Washington, iv. 379.

not reasonable the States should pay the officers according to the rank they held by their military commissions, who cannot be considered as responsible for the sickness or inability of the soldiers to perform their duty. Must therefore request that you will be pleased to give the necessary orders accordingly.

I am, sir, with the highest esteem and regard,
Your most obedient, most humble servant.

[*Signature omitted.*]

His Excellency General Washington.

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TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Hartford, June 12th, 1777.

Sir, — I had the pleasure duly to receive your letters of the 23d and 26th ultimo, and freely acquiesce in the justice and propriety of the measures you have pursued, although it obliges us to give up the idea of retaining Continental troops for immediate defence, and to raise two battalions more at our own expense for that purpose, which the General Assembly cheerfully came into, rather than endanger objects of the last importance or embarrass your measures by insisting further upon the Resolve of Congress, which had encouraged us to hope we might be spared the expense and detriment to our country business, arising from the drawing off more men from the field and paying them while in service. Could you spare us two or three field-pieces for each of these battalions, it would be very acceptable; yet if the general service will be prejudiced thereby, we cannot, with propriety, wish to be indulged in this request.

I have not yet obtained full returns of the execution of the Act of Assembly for filling up the Continental Army; yet, from the returns I have received, I flatter myself they will be so far completed that the recruiting officers will soon be able to fill up the companies that

are yet deficient. I trust they will be pushed on by the officers to join you with all possible expedition, though many of them are so far debilitated by inoculation for the small-pox, and lameness and disorders consequent thereon, which will, of necessity, for some time retard their march.

An exchange of prisoners is wished for as soon as may be convenient. The prisoners taken in the incursion to Danbury mutually wish for an exchange; and as a great part of the prisoners taken from us were opulent farmers, it will be of public advantage to have them restored to their liberty, and a capacity to cultivate their estates.

I am, etc.,

JONTH TRUMBULL.

HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, CAMP AT MIDDLE BROOK,
June 20th, 1777.

DEAR SIR, — General Howe has suddenly quitted his new post between Somerset and Brunswick, and has returned to his old situation. The whole design of his making his late movement this way may possibly have been to induce us to draw off our troops from Peekskill; though I think it most probable that he was disappointed in his expectations of the manner in which we should act, and that finding the people turned out with great spirit to strengthen our opposition, he concluded it most prudent to relinquish his intentions and resume his former position. But lest the first supposition should be true, I have ordered Generals McDougal and Glover not to proceed. If they are at a distance from Peekskill they are to halt where they are; and if they are near it, they are to go back. You will cease sending any more on.

General Schuyler writes to me that, from some intelligence he had lately received, there was reason to apprehend General Burgoyne was making preparation for an immediate attack upon Ticonderoga, and on that account requests a reinforcement; but as the alarm may, very likely, prove false, until we have further evidence that such an event is about to take place, I do not think it advisable to lessen our force on this quarter, by sending them to where, perhaps, they may not be wanted.

It will be proper you should keep in view that the enemy's motions must, of necessity, be in concert, and if they operate to the northward, you will undoubtedly have a visit your way; besides, being continually prepared for this casualty, it will be highly useful to use every method of gaining intelligence from New York. The most effectual means of doing this is to have persons frequently going into and coming out from the city.

I am, with regard, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G.º Washington.

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WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Middle Brook,
23d June, 1777.

Sir, — I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 12th instant. Permit me to assure you, sir, that it would give me pleasure to comply with your request for field-pieces were it in my power; but it is not. We have not sufficient for the army. General Schuyler applied for twelve, by a late letter, for his department, which cannot be furnished. Our number is so small that we do not think it expedient to appoint more than two to each of our brigades. We are obliged to keep some reserve in case of misfortunes.

Your exertions to complete your quota of troops oblige

me much, and I am happy to hear they are likely to be attended with so much success.

In respect to exchanging the prisoners taken in the Danbury expedition, as the action was chiefly with the militia, it seems to fall with more propriety under your direction. I am content that you should make a proposition of the sort, if it be agreeable to General Howe, and that the exchange should take place, if he will accede to it. We are in dispute upon the subject of the agreement between us, and I could not make the proposition with any degree of propriety.

On Saturday night and yesterday morning, General Howe and his army evacuated Brunswick. Our advices of their intention, unhappily, were too late for us to make such dispositions to annoy them, as we wished: they had conveyed away their whole baggage, and were clear of all incumbrances. General Greene commanded the brigades particularly detached on this service; but before they could get up, the enemy retreated. General Wayne's only arrived in time on the ground, and behaved in a manner that does them honor.

Colonel Morgan and his corps of light troops composed of rifle-men distinguished themselves greatly; and hanging on the flanks of the enemy, did them a good deal of damage. They are now within their lines at Amboy. What their next operations and movements will be, I cannot determine. I should have been more particular upon this subject, had not the urgency of Mr. Trumbull's business, by whom this goes, required his departure.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
G.º Washington.

P. S. Yours of the 9th June has been also received. General Putnam has ordered payment for the militia mentioned therein.

## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

LEBANON, June 27th, 1777.

SIR, — In my letter of the 12th instant, I took the liberty to express our wishes for an exchange of our prisoners, since which I have received the most pressing request from a large number of them, to the same purpose, especially from Captain Trowbridge and Lieutenants Fitch and Fanning, whose circumstances are peculiarly difficult and distressing. Mr. Loring, Commissary of Prisoners, has, by a message by Mr. Webb, of Weathersfield, lately returned from New York (whither he went with a flag, to transact some business of great importance to him), acquainted me that he is ready to give, in exchange for Mr. Chew and Mr. Bell, Deputy Commissaries of Forage,[1] any two of our subaltern officers; or, for Mr. Chew, any committee-man in their power. If any exchange of prisoners can now be made, and you have no material objection against it, I should be glad of your permission to exchange Captain Raymond, Mr. Chew, and Mr. Bell, prisoners in this State, taken on Long Island by Colonel Meigs, for Captain Trowbridge and Lieutenants Fanning and Fitch, who were all made captive on Long Island last summer. I the rather wish Mr. Chew's exchange, as he is a gentleman of sense and address, acquainted with gentlemen in every part of this State, and capable of doing as much hurt — much more, I believe — by his residence here, than he could do in arms against us.

I am obliged again to trouble your Excellency with a request much against my inclination, but our situation requires it, — it is to desire we may have from the Laboratory at Springfield five hundred or one thousand small arms, upon loan or purchase. We should prefer the latter.

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[1] See the Petitions of Joseph Chew and others, Appendix A and B.

In 1775 we armed upwards of seven thousand men, and sent them into service. When they were discharged in Canada and at Boston, all the arms fit for service were detained and paid for. Unfortunately, they have none of them found their way into this State again, or into the hands of Continental soldiers raised in other States. In like circumstances are all the arms purchased in this State for the army in 1775, which were bought out of the hands of our militia. Many guns were left last year by our militia battalions and regiments; all which belonged to such men as died, and to many that were sick, were left in stores in the State of New York, and are to us irrecoverable. The Laboratory at Springfield has drawn off many, I am informed, most, of our manufacturers of fire-arms; so that our manufacture, which was carrying on upon public account, is almost at an end. We depended upon two battalions of Continental troops, agreeably to the Resolve of Congress; therefore have gone further in stripping ourselves to supply our Continental battalions raising here, than we should have dared otherwise to have done. Although many of the arms which were in the hands of our soldiers in years past were of a more ordinary kind than we could have wished, yet it is doubtless true that we have more good arms taken from us when the Continent were obliged to do it, and now in the hands of the Continent or their soldiers not belonging to this State, than would furnish our quota of the Continental Army. We think, therefore, we have a just claim to consideration in this respect, whenever it is in the power of the Continent to supply us; if that is now the case you will judge. If we cannot obtain this favor, we must take arms out of the hands of militia to supply our two battalions raising for our defence, which, in effect, reduces our strength in case of an invasion, and loses us the service of just so many men as we are obliged to take arms in this way.

I am, sir, etc., [*Signature omitted.*]

## WASHINGTON TO GENERAL PUTNAM.[1]

Middle Brook, July 1st, 1777.

Dear Sir, — At sunset this evening I received your letter of the 30th ult. The intelligence contained in the copies of the letters you transmitted is truly interesting, and it appears almost certain to me that General Howe and General Burgoyne design, if possible, to unite their attacks and form a situation [*sic*] of their two armies.

I approve much of your conduct in ordering Nixon's brigade to be in readiness, and I desire it may be embarked immediately, with their baggage, to sail for Albany as soon as General Parsons's and Varnum's brigades are so near Peeks Kill that they can arrive to supply their place before any troops can come up the river and effect a landing, or as soon as a number of militia equal to them can be got in. They will proceed up the river with the utmost despatch on either of these events happening. The ships that were at Amboy moved down round Staten Island this morning, and all the troops that were encamped opposite to the town struck their tents and marched off.

Upon the whole, there is the strongest reason to conclude that General Howe will push up the river immediately to co-operate with the army from Canada, which, it appears from the accounts transmitted by General St. Clair, has certainly in view an attack on Ticonderoga and the several dependent posts.

In this view of things it seems absolutely necessary for you to pursue the most speedy and effective measures to obtain a respectable reinforcement of the most neighboring militia. No time is to be lost; much may be at stake; and I am persuaded if General Howe is going up the river, he will make a rapid and a vigorous push to gain the Highland passes.

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[1] A part of this letter is printed in Sparks's Writings of Washington, iv. 475.

The militia cannot object to turning out, as the time of their detention cannot be long. Mr. Howe's movements will soon be understood.

You will not think of sending Glover's brigade down to the White plains in the present situation of affairs.

I cannot pretend to give directions about taking the guns from the forts for the ships. I shall leave it to you and the other general officers to act therein, as may appear most expedient in yours and their opinions.

The letter for General George Clinton I have left open for your perusal, which you will despatch to him by express after sealing it.

I am, dear sir,
Your affectionate, humble servant,
G.º Washington.

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### WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.[1]

Headquarters, Camp at Middle Brook,
July 2d, 1777.

Sir, — I had last night the honor of your letter of the 27th of June.

The proposition for the exchange of the gentlemen you mention is entirely agreeable to me, as they are now entitled to a releasement from the time of their captivity, and fall within the right of exchange I have prescribed to myself.

I am sorry it is not in my power to comply with your request for arms. Notwithstanding the many arrivals we have had, there is scarcely a sufficiency to supply the demand for the Continental troops. What has become of them, I am unable to conceive. Every State complains of a deficiency; a great part of the several quotas has come into the field very indifferently fur-

[1] A part of this letter is printed in Sparks's Writings of Washington, iv. 476.

nished, and yet the public magazines are very nearly exhausted. The importations from time to time far exceed the number of Continental troops raised to make use of them. These have not, and could not have, been all put into their hands, and yet there are very few of them now to be found undisposed of. If they are not, many of them, in possession of the militia, it is impossible to imagine where they are, as a very considerable [*sic*] part has ever fallen into the hands of the enemy. The fluctuating state of the army, and the irregular manner in which the militia usually left camp, rendered it impracticable, on their return home, to withdraw the arms intrusted to them at their coming out, and gave them a fair opportunity of appropriating them to their own use, which every reason obliges me to believe they did not fail to improve. It appears to me highly probable that, upon a careful scrutiny, many individuals will be found to possess more than they have occasion for, and that the surplus will fully answer the purpose you have in view. It is painful to me to refuse any request of yours; but when, for want of being fully acquainted with all circumstances, you make one that happens to interfere with the general good, I am convinced it is your wish I should give the preference to that. You will easily be sensible, sir, that it would be improper entirely to drain the public arsenals or to straiten the Continental army in order to accommodate the militia. In case of emergency it will be much easier to draw them thence and give them to the inhabitants, than, if they were once distributed to them, and should be wanted by the Continental troops, to recover them to answer the call. Should your State be seriously invaded and your militia unprovided for defence, you cannot doubt they would be supplied with every necessary in the power of the Continent; and that any arms in store not immediately required for the army would be given to those who were

disposed to make use of them. But when Continental arms are wanted for Continental troops, it cannot be expected that those should remain unsupplied and those arms be dedicated to another purpose. They cannot, in any case, or at any time, be so useful as in their hands.

Since my last, the enemy, disappointed in their attempt upon our right, have made an experiment upon our left; and, frustrated in that also, have abandoned the Jerseys, and encamped upon Staten Island. There is a great stir among their shipping; and in all probability their next movement will be by water, though it is impossible to decide with certainty to what place. But I last night received intelligence from General Schuyler, that General Burgoyne is beginning to operate to the northward. If it is not merely a diversion, but a serious attack, of which it bears strongly the appearance, it is a certain proof that the next step of General Howe's army will be towards the Peekskill, and that very suddenly, in order, if possible, to get possession of the passes in the High Lands before this army can have time to form a junction with the troops already there. To guard against contingencies, I have this morning sent off General Parsons's and General Varnum's brigades, to march with all despatch towards Peekskill, and when they are arrived at or near that post, a reinforcement will proceed thence immediately to Albany on their way to Ticonderoga. The whole army are lying on their arms, ready to move wherever the decisive operation of the army may call them. I have also urged General Clinton, without loss of time, to call out a respectable body of the New York militia to join General Putnam. I have the fullest confidence you will do everything you can to second my endeavors, by forwarding, as fast as possible, the remaining troops of your State, or whatever else may be in your power.

Our greatest exertions will be requisite to counteract the enemy in their first attempts, on which their success chiefly depends.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G.º Washington.

Morris Town, July 4th, 1777. — Yesterday the army marched to this place, where they will be more convenient to succor Peekskill, should an attempt be made that way or further eastward; and will be near enough Philadelphia to oppose any design against that, should the enemy resume the project of going there.

General Sullivan's division is further advanced towards Peekskill.

If you effect the exchange you propose, you will inform Mr. Boudenotte,[1] Commissary of Prisoners, with what has been done, which you will be pleased to do on every similar occasion, as without it he could not know the true state of his Department.

On a second view, I must beg you will postpone the exchange of those gentlemen till you hear from Mr. Boudenotte, to whom I will communicate your proposition, and who, I doubt not, will do what you wish. But as he has been appointed to transact everything relating to prisoners, any interference with his department will tend to throw it into confusion, and prevent the salutary effects to be expected from it.

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WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Morris Town,
July 7th, 1777.

Sir, — I had the honor of writing to you the 2d instant, with a postscript of the 4th. I there informed

[1] Elias Boudinot.

you of the enemy having evacuated the Jerseys and of the intelligence received from Ticonderoga, which induced me to suppose it highly probable the next operation of General Howe would be up the North River. But as I have received no information since the first, of the 26th ult., to confirm the expectation of a serious attempt in that quarter, I am led very much to suspect that the hostile appearances that way may be only a diversion to keep awake our apprehensions for the security of the posts there, prevent our drawing away any part of our forces from thence, and even tempt us to weaken ourselves here by sending reinforcements to them, while the real design may be to attack elsewhere. This supposition is also agreeable to the accounts we daily receive from deserters and others who come from the enemy. We are told by these, that accommodations for horses are filling up in the transports, that they are taking in large supplies of provisions, water, and provender, and that officers' baggage is continually transporting on board of them from New York, marked with their names and the corps they belong to.

These representations, if true, seem to denote an expedition that would take longer time than would be necessary for one up the North River; but where, is all matter of conjecture, and cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. Prudence dictates that we should be as much upon our guard as possible everywhere; and on this account I have thought it my duty to communicate to you the information I have received, that in case anything should be meditated against the Eastern States, you may not be taken by surprise, but may have warning to put matters in the best situation you can, to give them a proper reception. On my part no vigilance nor exertions shall be wanting to ascertain their intentions, and give effectual assistance wherever they may direct their efforts.

Since my last, I have had advices from the southward that the public magazines there are entirely emptied of arms, and that the troops now coming on will be destitute, unless they can be supplied out of those imported to the eastward. This will oblige me to order most of the arms at Springfield to be sent forward to furnish those troops. It is matter of equal concern and surprise to hear such loud complaints in the Eastern States for want of arms, when we consider the quantities brought into them both on public as well as private account, which their situation enabled them to receive in much greater proportion than the other States, and the arrivals of which have been announced in all the public papers as well as in private and official letters. How they have been applied it is impossible for me to conceive.

In case of an actual invasion of your State, should such an event take place, and should there be a necessity for it, towards furnishing your militia, you may draw out of the store at Springfield a thousand arms for that purpose, if there be any remaining after the number I shall be obliged to call for is supplied. This you will be pleased to consider as a loan, not a sale, and to be replaced as soon as circumstances will permit.

By the enclosed I have instructed the Commissary of Stores to deliver them.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir,
Your most obedient servant,
G.º WASHINGTON.

P. S. The enclosed information came to hand since writing the above. The other letters you will be pleased to forward, as directed, with all despatch. They are inclined to put the other Eastern States upon their guard also.

## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

LEBANON, 14th July, 1777.

SIR, — I have received your letters, that of the 7th instant on the 10th; that of the 2d, with postscript of the 4th, the next day. Thankfully acknowledge the attention paid to mine. The northern posts are truly alarming. Although before you receive the intelligence I send you enclosed, you doubtless will have received more full and authentic accounts of this affair, yet conclude it best to let you have copies of the letters I have received. They may be of some use. The accounts they contain are such as give us surprising ideas of our dangers. Internal enemies are always to be considered as the most dangerous, and to be watched with the greatest attention. I cannot forbear expressing my fears of such being concerned in this surprising event. Our utmost exertions are certainly necessary at this time, to keep up the spirits of our people and to stop the progress of the enemy. The Lord reigns! Let us rejoice with thankfulness beforehand for the mercies we have received, and with hope of those we stand in need of. Future events are in the safe hand of the Supreme Director of all. Let us wait and patiently hope and trust in [him] for our salvation. He sets one thing over against another that we may find nothing after him.[1] Although it be comparatively small, yet the acquisition of Major-General Prescott as a prisoner,[2] with his *aide-de-camp* and a sentinel, at Rhode Island, is of some consequence, as it may serve to release Major-General Lee from his captivity by way of exchange. Major-General Spencer informs me of this, and that it is his

[1] See Eccles. vii. 14: God also hath set the one over against the other, to the end that man should find nothing after him.

[2] See Washington's reply of 17th July, 1777, referring to this capture. Sparks's Writings of Washington, iv. 497.

design to send these prisoners to my care, to keep them in safety till your pleasure is known. As it will be very difficult to keep him here, I think it will be best at least to send General Prescott forward under strong guard to you, even if he should be sent back again; but possibly he may not be here before the return of this express, which I wish may be as speedy as possible. On this extraordinary emergency from the northward I shall directly send to Springfield for the thousand arms you are kind enough to allow me to take on loan. How[ever] it is with other States as to arms, sure I am the representation from this State in my letter is just. We have possibly erred on the safer hand of being righteous overmuch. Please to direct Mr. Boudenot to write me concerning the prisoners. Ours are in unhappy circumstances with the enemy. Please to give me every information and direction needful.

I am, with great esteem and regard, sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

His Excellency General Washington.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, 15th July, 1777.

Sir, — William Adams, a lieutenant in Colonel Durkee's battalion, raised in this State, thinking himself superseded in appointments, hath applied to me for a dismission which doth not belong to me to grant; I do therefore refer the matter to your Excellency's consideration.

I am, with great esteem,
Your Excellency's humble servant.

[*Signature omitted.*]

To his Excellency General Washington.

## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

LEBANON, 25th July, 1777.

SIR, — I have the honor of yours of the 17th[1] instant. On the first intelligence received from Major-General Schuyler, by his letter of the 28th June ult., that the enemy had advanced as far as Crown Point, and sent out parties by the way of Otter Creek and on the west side of Lake George, and requiring the aid of militia from the States of New York, Massachusetts Bay, and Connecticut, I did immediately direct Brigadier-General Oliver Wolcott forthwith to order the brigade under his command, which lies in the most northerly part of this State, to hold themselves in readiness to march at the shortest notice, and to draft one half of the same, see them armed, equipped, and furnished with ammunition, knapsacks, blankets, and so much provision as he should judge necessary, and appoint suitable officers to command them; at the same time take care to gain intelligence of the state of affairs at the northward; and left at his discretion to order the part drafted, or such other part of his brigade as he should think proper, more or less, as the case should require, to march to the support and assistance of the northern army, which orders were attended. The intelligence he gained, so uncertain, that he thought fit to order the march of the half of Colonels Burrell's and Humphrey's regiments to the northward. On the 9th instant received General Wolcott's return of his conduct, and that he reserved the other two regiments for future direction. Our intelligence remained far from explicit, but the extreme busy season, to which may be added the distrust of being commanded by officers whose conduct in evacuating the posts at Ticonderoga was so

[1] Sparks's Writings of Washington, iv. 497.

much censured, inclined the men to incur the fine in the case, rather than turn out with the freedom and spirit they would otherwise have done. Our intelligence remaining doubtful, and our minds anxious to have every assistance in our power, on the 12th instant wrote to General Schuyler; and, that no time might be lost in affording our aid, desired Major-General Wadsworth to go with it and with power to call for militia from this State, as should appear to be needful, and to gain full intelligence in the affair. He went; and yesterday returned with a letter from Major-General Schuyler, and made a report of the material circumstances which he was able to obtain. Copies of both are enclosed for your observation.

It is not wonderful that the minds of all friends to our cause should be agitated on the evacuation of the important posts at Ticonderoga, etc., with the cannon, ordnance stores, ammunition, provision, tents, clothing, etc., in such astonishing hurry and confusion, considering the apparent circumstances and unhappy consequences that must attend that hasty resolution, which occasions some to cry, treachery; others, cowardice; all, blame. While the true and real grounds of it remain unknown, the officers concerned must be violently perturbated, the men distrustful, and the service suffer. A speedy inquiry seems necessary; when the facts are fresh in the minds of all, may be examined with care, discussed with candor, and treated in a manner the same may appear to merit.

If this unhappy event should render it necessary for your Excellency to send a larger number of your army to the northward to stop the career of our enemies in that quarter than can be well spared during the suspense of General Howe's intentions and operations, our militia, 't is apprehended, will turn out with much better spirit to defend the pass of the enemy through the High-

lands, than to go to the northward in their present situation.

Major-General Spencer sent General Prescott to this place, agreeable to your desire. The day before yesterday I caused him to be removed to East-Windsor, where the people are generally well affected, where he is genteelly accommodated, but strongly guarded. At his request I suffered his *aide-de-camp*, Lieutenant Barrington, to attend him. I hope this capture of General Prescott may procure the releasement of General Lee, and bring about a general exchange of prisoners, so much wished for.

Sunday last were alarmed at the appearance of twenty-four sail of the enemy's ships passing from New York through the Sound, showing themselves as standing for Fairfield, and in like manner at sundry other places. Captain Niles, in our armed schooner "Spy," who was ordered out for discovery, was chased into New London harbor. Several broadsides, with other random shots, was fired at him. The enemy pursued till they came within a short distance from the light-house in that harbor. They passed by, only two ships and three or four schooners and sloops went in at New Port. Mr. Shaw says he found they are bound home with sick and wounded soldiers. Mr. Shaw was at the time in a flag to carry letters to thirty-one gentlemen at New York, who were allowed to return on parole, who were sent into this State for their inimical principles, to return when called for. He proceeded up the Sound as far as Huntington, when, meeting with a British ship, the commander prevented him from going up any further, saying that he had positive orders not to let any flag proceed any further. Mr. Shaw gave him the letters, and hath his receipt to deliver them to Lord Howe, mentioning the purport.

The earth helps us. I never saw it better covered

with its fruits for our support. The enemy threaten its destruction; may God prevent it!

By your permission have received from Springfield about one thousand arms on loan. Doubt not they will be very useful for our defence. The spirits and ardor of our people are not subdued or abated. Men who have tasted of freedom, and who have felt their personal rights, are not easily taught to bear with encroachments on either, and cannot, without great preparation, be brought to submit to oppression. The admiration of riches leads to despotical government. *Amor scelcratus habendi*, at this time, greatly endangers these States, from want of consideration that, if the public is not saved, their personal interests and pursuits must be lost. Effectually to guard the safety of the people, great care is needful to preserve their virtue. Virtue is true bliss; 't is the great object of all good government. We will persevere in its pursuit. The Lord reigneth! Let us rejoice therein. He sets one thing over against another that we may find nothing after him.

I am, with great esteem and respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

His Excellency General Washington.

P. S. Just after finishing my letter, I received a requisition from General Schuyler, for a reinforcement of one thousand men from this State, for the reasons suggested. I conceive the best we can do may be effected by your ordering Continental troops who can move forward sooner, and their room supplied by Colonel Enos's battalion now in service on the western part of our sea-coasts, and their station again supplied by militia, if necessary, which we hope to find otherwise. Colonel Enos' battalion is enlisted for the defence of the sea-coasts and frontiers of this State and parts adja-

cent, without expectation of a lengthy march. I shall give orders to our brigadiers of militia, to draft and equip men to march on the shortest notice. While this is doing, shall wait your approbation of the measure, and be ready to carry the same into execution.

The cry of the people for an inquiry increases. It must be soon, full, and made public, or it will not be satisfactory. In the present situation at the northward it will be impracticable to procure men to go, *the distrust of the officers is so great*. They say 't was not the men's fault that Ty. was evacuated. They went to fight, and would have done it if the officers had done their duty.

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TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

LEBANON, 28th July, 1777.

SIR, — Last evening received a letter from Major-General Putnam informing that the enemy's fleet hath sailed, — in suspense to what part designed, although I believe their object to be Philadelphia, or North River, or both. Yet, if they steer eastward, I fancy they will rather attack Portsmouth, to co-operate with General Burgoyne. The country back is thinly inhabited, and little or no force to resist them, and the Canadians and Indians, seeing such an opening, may be encouraged to spread ruin and devastation on our extended frontiers.

Although I wrote you largely on the 25th, yet I can't forbear adding by this opportunity, that the Northern army, under Major-General Schuyler, are retired two or three miles below Fort Edward. All the houses, barracks, stores, etc., at that place are burned and destroyed. It seems a maxim with General Schuyler to leave no support to the enemy as he retires. The want of carriages may hinder the enemy's progress. I wish three or four thousand Continental troops, well officered, could be

spared from your army. They might be sent up suddenly and prevent the career of the enemy.

[The] 23d instant a party of the enemy surprised our advanced picket, killed seven, and wounded thirteen, three of which are since dead. Ten fine brass field-pieces are gone up. There is not much to be said for the spirit of the people in that quarter. Those who are escaped from Ty. with General St. Clair, are much fatigued and worn out. General Nixon's brigade is their main dependence. The militia are one half gone home, the other half uneasy. I wish you knew fully their situation, and the necessity of a speedy reinforcement to save that part of the country. The necessity of an inquiry into the evacuation of Ty., etc., I have mentioned in my former. It needs no repetition, but only that it is called for by all.

[*Signature omitted.*]

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WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

PHILADELPHIA, August 4th, 1777.

SIR, — I have been honored with your letter of the 28th ultimo. I confess the conduct of the enemy is distressing beyond measure, and past our comprehension. On Thursday and Friday last their fleet, consisting of two hundred and twenty-eight sail, were beating off the Capes of Delaware, as if they intended to come in. From this circumstance, nobody doubted but that Philadelphia was the immediate object of their expedition, and that they would commence their operations as soon as possible. They have stood out to sea again, but how far, or where they are going, remains to be known. From their entire command of the water they derive immense advantages, and distress us much by harassing and marching our troops from post to post. I wish we could fix on their destination; in such case I should hope we would be prepared to receive them.

I had been advised before that the Northern army had

taken post below Fort Edward. I am told by those acquainted with the country, that Fort Edward is not tenable, and that the grounds where the army now is are good and pretty defensible. I hope they will prove so on trial. If Fort Edward was so situated, and the evacuation necessary, though I regret the expense incurred in building the barracks, etc., yet their destruction might be advisable, as otherwise they would have afforded shelter and protection to the enemy. I should be happy, if I could spare the reinforcement of Continental troops which you mention. But it cannot be done. We now feel sensibly the fatal consequences arising from the deficiency in our regiments, and that languor which has but too generally prevailed throughout the States. If the quota of men exacted from the States were complete, we could, with great ease, check the progress of General Burgoyne, and bid defiance to all their armies. I trust, however, though this is not our condition, and though matters do appear somewhat gloomy at present, that a steady perseverance, and our spirited exertions, will put things right again. It behooves every man to turn out and act with vigor at this juncture. Every motive of self-preservation, of liberty, and happiness, has a claim upon our efforts, and requires our aid. Surely the militia do not mean to be supine spectators of their own and their country's ruin. I cannot entertain so ungenerous a thought, and one so unworthy and derogatory of their former characters.

The panic, I flatter myself, is nearly subsided, and I doubt not but they will give the army every possible assistance. The inquiry you mention will certainly be made, and in the course of a short time, I suppose as soon as circumstances will admit it.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir,
Your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

PHILADELPHIA, August 4th, 1777.

SIR, — The great expense and loss of time that has attended the recruiting service in most of the States, and the little advantage derived from it, has induced Congress to recommend the executive powers of each to adopt certain new regulations for promoting this important and essential business, and for taking it entirely out of the hands of the officers of the army. The resolve on this subject, and the regulations recommended, passed on the 31st ultimo, and will, I presume, be transmitted you by the President.

I will not urge the expediency of carrying this proceeding into immediate execution. I shall only observe the necessity is obvious, and that it demands our most active attention. The principal cause of my troubling you at this time is to request that after the persons recommended are appointed in your State, you will be pleased to transmit me their names, their places of residence, and those designed for the rendezvous of recruits and deserters. As soon as I am advised upon those subjects, I shall recall all the officers who are recruiting, and order them forthwith to join their respective corps. Before I conclude, I would beg leave to mention that the success of this interesting business in all its parts will depend much upon a judicious choice of those who are to be employed in it, and that I think the districts should not be too large and extensive.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir,
Your most obedient servant,
G°. WASHINGTON.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

LEBANON, 7th August, 1777.

SIR, — Yesterday received a letter of the 3d instant from General Putnam, enclosing a copy of yours to him of 1st instant, advising that the enemy's fleet, on the 31st ultimo, sailed out of the Capes of Delaware, in an eastern course, requesting all possible assistance to prevent the enemy's possessing themselves of the passes in the Highlands. Previous to this, in pursuance of a former requisition from General Putnam, orders had been given to Brigadier-General Silliman to send on to Peekskill Colonel Enos's battalion which was raised for the defence of this State; and on the requisition of General Putnam, to send on such part of the militia of his brigade as might be wanted and could be spared, having respect to the defence of the sea-coast. Similar orders were likewise given to Brigadier-General Oliver Wolcott, in consequence of which a part of Colonel Enos's battalion, five troops of horse, and two regiments of Brigadier Silliman's brigade, likewise three regiments of Brigadier Oliver Wolcott's brigade, have been ordered to march, and hope, by this time, many of them have arrived. Orders were yesterday issued for a further number of the militia, to complete about three thousand in the whole, to march immediately to Peekskill under the command of Brigadier-General Ward. A large quantity of powder belonging to the States being deposited at Norwich, contiguous to New London, on the appearance of a fleet of the enemy's ships off the harbor of New London, it was judged prudent, to provide against accident, to remove one hundred barrels of the powder to Lebanon, one hundred to Coventry, and one hundred to Windham, one hundred still remaining at Norwich. The sudden and unexpected retreat from Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, followed with the loss of all the ordnance stores; and a requi-

sition made by General Putnam, through the Deputy Adjutant-General Root, of the 28th ultimo, to have the militia furnished with ammunition, as that article was wanting there, has induced me to send forward to Farmington in this State, one hundred barrels of powder belonging to the State, which, if wanted at Peekskill, may go forward by the teams which go with it to Farmington; and this express will return to Hartford seasonably, that the teams may go on from Farmington to the place where you may direct the same.

[*Signature omitted.*]

His Excellency General Washington, or, in his absence, to Major-General Putnam.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, 1st September, 1777.

Sir, — I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 31st[1] July ultimo, and am happy to congratulate you on the success of General Stark near Bennington, and Colonel Gansevort at Fort Stanwix; events which demand our highest gratitude to the Supreme Director, for his merciful appearance for us at that critical juncture. This ought not to lessen our desires that a thorough and impartial inquiry be made into the grounds and reasons for the evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and that there was no good ground to stand upon for our defence, until the way was left open to the enemy near down to Albany. That it may prove satisfactory to the public, it is necessary that time and care be taken to procure every document and evidence needful, fully to elucidate the matters of facts, with their attending circumstances, that the determination may appear to be thorough, candid, and impartial.

[1] Sparks's Writings of Washington, v. 9.

Your several requisitions made through Major-General Putnam have been duly attended to.

I have to acknowledge the honor of your two letters of the 4th of August. On that respecting the recruiting and taking up deserters, this State is divided into six brigades of militia; the limits of each is made a district; the officers and places of rendezvous shall be soon appointed, and you noticed thereof in my next.

On the other, have to observe that previous to our receiving General Gates's letter from Philadelphia, of the same date, our General Assembly ordered about one hundred or one hundred and fifty light horsemen and two regiments of our militia, consisting of seven hundred and twenty-eight men each, to continue in service for two months after they join the Northern army, unless sooner dismissed. Immediately after receiving his letter we wrote to him to know whether he desired us to send only the number he had requested, and received for answer, that he requested the whole that were ordered by the Assembly. The light horsemen and many of foot are arrived, doubtless, before this. The residue are marching on. Our militia are not about to give up their country's cause. I depend upon their vigorous exertions at this season, and hope for something notable from them.

I received from Major-General Putnam a copy of yours of the 22d of August to him, with Mr. Bradley's intelligence. Copies of them are forwarded to the Eastern States, and proper attention will be paid to your requisition. The two Brigadiers, O. Wolcott and Silliman, are ordered to furnish Major-General Putnam with men from their brigades, answerable to his requests.

Measures are taking to find the causes of deficiencies in filling our quota of the Continental Army, that a proper remedy may be provided, agreeable to what may appear to be right, for making them up.

My near connection with the Commissary-General is the occasion that I forbear to mention my fears and concerns for that department. The whole matter, with its causes and probable consequences, are better known to you than to me.

I am, with esteem and regard, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

His Excellency General Washington.

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WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Newport,
8th September, 1777.

Sir, — I was yesterday honored with yours of the 1st instant. You have my thanks for your ready compliance with my requisition, through General Putnam, for a reinforcement to the important [post] at Peekskill, and it is an additional pleasure to me to find that you have also sent a reinforcement to the army.

Since General Howe's debarkation at the head of Chesapeake Bay, he has made very little progress, having only moved five or six miles from the shore with strong grounds in his front. Our advanced parties have had a small skirmish with his, but the damage on either side is considerable. General Howe's plans are yet very mysterious; a few days ago he sent all his tents and baggage on board again, and his ships have fallen some distance down Chesapeake Bay. This can be for no other purpose but to go round to Delaware, and meet him there, as he can easily extend himself across the isthmus, which is narrow. This will be a strange manœuvre indeed, as it will be exposing his ships to some danger upon the coast, at this tempestuous season, and should an accident happen to the fleet he must be ruined. A little time must unfold his true designs, which I trust we

shall be able to baffle, as the troops are in good spirits, and the people of the country show an universal good-will to oppose the common enemy.

I have the honor to be,

With sincere respect and regard, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

Governor Trumbull.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.[1]

Headquarters, October 1st, 1777.

Sir, — I was yesterday honored with yours of the 24th ultimo, with its enclosures.

The prosperous complexion of our Northern affairs is a very pleasing and important circumstance. It is much to be wished they may continue in the same train, and have as favorable an issue as they seem now to promise. If they have, besides the more immediate advantages that will accrue from disappointing the views of the enemy in that quarter, it will necessarily have a happy influence upon our affairs here.

With respect to the promotion of Lieutenant-Colonel Meigs, as I know not how he stood in the time [Line], I am unable to judge of its propriety. In consequence of powers given me by Congress, to prevent the confusion which arose in the army for want of some common establishment of promotion, I sometime since appointed a board of general officers to take the matter into consideration, and agreeable to their opinion, fixed it as a general rule that all officers below the rank of major should rise regimentally till they attained that rank, and that all of that degree and above it should succeed to vacancies according to seniority in the Line of the State to which they belong. If Colonel Meigs was the oldest Lieutenant-

[1] A portion of this letter is printed in Sparks's Writings of Washington, v. 75.

Colonel in the Line, his late appointment was regular and unexceptionable; if not, his seniors will have a right to complain.

You will have heard before this gets to hand, that the enemy have at length gained possession of Philadelphia. Many unavoidable difficulties and unfortunate accidents that we had to encounter concurred to promote their success. This is an event that we have reason to wish had not happened, and will be attended with several ill consequences; but I hope it will not be so detrimental as many apprehend, and that a little time and perseverance will give us an opportunity of making amends for our late ill fortune, and putting our affairs in a more flourishing condition than at present. Our army has now had the rest and refreshment it stood in need of, and our men are in very good spirits.

With great regard and esteem,
I have the honor to be, dear sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Gº. Washington.

P. S. The state of things here has obliged me to draw a further reinforcement from Peekskill, in addition to that which came under General McDougall. This will render that post weaker than is consistent with its security; and I must therefore entreat you will be kind enough to afford General Putnam every aid from the militia of your State that you possibly can. You are sensible of the importance of taking care of that post, and I am persuaded you will do everything in your power to contribute towards it.

## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

CAMP, PAWLIN'S MILL, 7th October, 1777.

SIR, — I have the honor to transmit you an account of an action between the American Army and that of the British, laying at Germantown, upon the morning of the 4th instant.

Having obtained information of the situation of the enemy, we determined to endeavor to do something by way of surprise. We accordingly marched all night, and reached the town by break of day. We attacked upon two quarters, upon both of which we were successful; but the morning was so exceedingly foggy that we could not see the confusion the enemy were in and the advantage we had gained, and fearing to push too far through a strong village we retired after an engagement of two hours, bringing off all our artillery with us. We did not know till after the affair was over how near we were to gaining a complete victory; but we have since learned, from deserters and others that have come out, that preparations were making to retreat to Chester. While the action lasted it was pretty severe. Our loss will amount, in killed and wounded, to upwards of three hundred. What that of the enemy is we do not exactly know, but one deserter tells us that when he came away the returns amounted to upwards of seven hundred, among which are General Agnew killed, and Sir William Erskine badly wounded. Other accounts say that upwards of two hundred wagons went into Philadelphia loaded with wounded. If this is true, their loss is more than the deserter mentions. Upon the whole, our men are in high spirits, and much pleased with the fortune of the day, though not so completely lucky as could have been wished.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

HARTFORD, 14th October, 1777.

SIR, — I have the honor of your letter of the 1st instant. Have now the pleasure to congratulate you on the further successes of our army at the northward. Hope this aurora borealis may not only dispel the gloom, and establish our affairs in that quarter, but be the forerunner of success and victory in every other Department.

The greatest part of our intelligence is contained in the enclosed Hartford paper. By the last accounts the enemy were environed by our troops, and seemed in great confusion and distress, — their baggage scattered, and much of it destroyed by themselves, great numbers of their horses killed on the road, several hundred barrels of provisions fallen into our hands. The enemy, in their retreat, have burnt General Schuyler's house, out-houses, and mills, and the houses of all who were reputed friendly to their country.

General H. Clinton, from N. York, made a sudden push up North River; before a sufficient number of militia arrived, hath taken Fort Montgomery by storm after a gallant defence by the garrison under Governor Clinton. He, his brother, Colonel Dubois, Major Humphrey, etc., escaped after the enemy had entered. The enemy are in possession of the pass at the Highlands; hope they will soon be obliged to retire back with loss and disappointment.

[*Signature omitted.*]

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

CAMP NEAR WHITE MARSH, 15 MILES FROM PHILADELPHIA,
October 26, 1777.

SIR, — I was honored a few days ago with your favor of the 14th, for which, and its enclosure, I return you my thanks.

I am happy in congratulating you, in turn, on the further success of our arms at the northward, in the surrender of General Burgoyne. The particulars of this fortunate event will have reached you before this, I expect, and therefore shall not add more upon the subject.

I have also the pleasure to inform you that on the 22d instant about twelve hundred Hessians under the command of Count Donnop, in an attempt to take our fort at Red Bank by storm, were repulsed with the loss of about four hundred in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Among the prisoners is the Count himself, badly wounded. After the repulse, the enemy retreated with great precipitation, and recrossed the Delaware as soon as possible. The next morning several of their ships of war warped through the lower tier of chevaux-de-frise, and attacked Fort Mifflin and our armed vessels which were posted near it. The cannonade was severe, and of long continuance. The enemy had two ships burnt, — one, said to be the "Augusta," of sixty-four guns, the other a frigate of thirty-two. We are not informed whether they were set on fire by our shot, or from what cause their destruction proceeded. The first, in returning, got aground. Our loss at Red Bank did not exceed thirty-two in killed and wounded; and not above four in the action with the ships of war.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Your most obedient servant,
G^o. Washington.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, 2d December, 1777.

Sir, — I was honored with your favor of the 26th October ultimo, received some time last month, for which I return my thanks.

I have received several of your applications, through Major-General Putnam, which have been executed in the best manner our circumstances would admit.

On the last request from the Major-General, in addition to Colonel Enos's regiment and others with him before, I ordered Colonel Ely's battalion, nearly full, from New London, — marched the 22d November ultimo, — and also two hundred men from each of the three nearest brigades, — Silliman's, Oliver Wolcott's, and Ward's, — making six hundred men, to join the Continental Army near New York; and our armed schooner "Spy" to go up Sound as far as best, to be under direction of General Putnam, or the general officer there.

The expedition to Newport hath unhappily failed. An inquiry hath been made into the reasons. General Spencer exculpated. A Brigadier Palmer failed in his duty. The enemy were meditating an attack on Bedford, and had actually embarked troops which were prevented by this.

I have enclosed a copy of my letter to the Honorable Congress, which takes up various matters which I think proper to communicate to you, and cannot do it better than by its enclosure. Be so good as to admit Brigadier-General Huntington to see this on his application to your Excellency.

The article of clothing is of utmost importance, and [I] shall attend to and prosecute it with vigor. I believe considerable quantities for the troops, from the several towns of this State, are coming, and will be on for them very soon.

Mr. Brown, the express who carries this, goes on to Congress, and will return by your headquarters. Your communications will be gratefully accepted.

I am, with great esteem and regard, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

His Excellency General Washington.

## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Gulf Mill,
15th December, 1777.

Sir, — I have the honor of yours of the 2d instant. I am much obliged for the attention you have paid to my requests through General Putnam, and I shall ever acknowledge the readiness with which you have always afforded any assistance from your State, when demanded immediately by myself.

I was never consulted in the least upon the Rhode Island expedition, and I cannot therefore pretend to say who were, or were not, to blame; but it undoubtedly cost the public an enormous sum to little or no purpose.

I observe by the copy of your letter to Congress that your State had fallen upon means to supply your troops with clothing. I must earnestly beg that it may be sent on to camp as fast as it is collected. To cover the country more effectually, we shall be obliged to lay, in a manner, in the field the whole winter, and except the men are warmly clad they must suffer much.

Among the troops of your State there are three hundred and sixty-three drafts whose time of service will expire with this month. This deduction, with the former deficiency of the regiments, will reduce them exceedingly low; and, as I have represented this matter to Congress very fully, I hope they have before this time urged to the States the necessity which there is of filling their regiments this winter. But lest they should not have done it, I beg leave to urge the matter to your immediate consideration. Recruits for the war ought, by all means, to be obtained if possible, but if that cannot be done, drafts for one year at least should be called out without delay. And I hope that as many as are now upon the point of going home will be immediately reinstated. We must expect to lose a considerable number of men by

sickness, and other ways, in the course of the winter; and if we cannot take the field in the spring with a superior, or at least an equal force with the enemy, we shall have labored through the preceding campaign to little purpose.

I have the honor to be,
With great respect and esteem, sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Gº. Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Valley Forge,
December 29th, 1777.

Sir, — I take the liberty of transmitting to you the enclosed return, which contains a state [ment] of such of the Connecticut regiments as are in the army immediately under my command. By this you will discover how deficient, how exceedingly short, they are of the complement of men which of right, according to the establishment, they ought to have. This information I have thought it my duty to lay before you, that it may have that attention which its importance demands; and in full hope that the most early and vigorous measures will be adopted, not only to make the regiments more respectable, but complete. The expediency and necessity of this procedure are too obvious to need arguments. Should we have a respectable force to commence an early campaign with, before the enemy are reinforced, I trust we shall have an opportunity of striking a favorable and an happy stroke. But if we should be obliged to defer it, it will not be easy to describe, with any degree of precision, what disagreeable consequences may result from it. We may rest assured that Britain will strain every nerve to send from

home and abroad, as early as possible, all the troops it shall be in her power to raise or procure. Her views and schemes for subjugating these States and bringing them under her despotic rule will be unceasing and unremitted. Nor should we, in my opinion, turn our expectations to, or have the least dependence on, the intervention of a foreign war. Our wishes on this head have been disappointed hitherto, and perhaps it may long be the case. However, be this as it may, our reliance should be wholly on our own strength and exertions. If, in addition to these, there should be aid derived from a war between the enemy and any of the European powers, our situation will be so much the better; if not, our efforts and exertions will have been the more necessary and indispensable. For my own part, I should be happy if the idea of a foreign rupture should be thrown entirely out of the scale of politics, and that it may have not the least weight in our public measures. No bad effects could flow from it, but, on the contrary, many of a salutary nature. At the same time, I do not mean that such an idea ought to be discouraged among the people at large.

Your ready exertions to relieve the distresses of your troops for clothing have given me the highest satisfaction. At the same time, knowing how exceedingly the service has been injured, how that every measure will be pursued that circumstances will admit to keep them supplied from time to time, no pains, no efforts can be too great for this purpose. The articles of shoes, stockings, and blankets demand the most particular attention, as the expenditure of them, from the operations and common accidents of war, we find to be greater than of any other articles. I assure you, sir, it is not easy to give you a just and accurate idea of the sufferings of the troops at large. Were they to be minutely detailed, the relation — so unexpected, so contrary to the common opinion of people distant from the army — would scarcely be thought

credible. I fear I shall wound your feelings by telling you, that by a field-return on the 23d instant, we had in camp not less than 2,898 men unfit for duty by reason of their being barefoot and otherwise naked. Besides these, there are many others detained at the hospitals and in farmers' houses for the same causes. I will no longer dwell upon the melancholy subject, being firmly convinced that your views and most studious care will be employed to render the situation of the troops, both officers and privates, comfortable in future. If the several States direct their attention to this indispensably essential object, as I trust they will, I have the most sanguine hopes that their supplies, with those immediately imported by Congress themselves, will be equal to every demand.

The return transmitted comprehends only such troops of your State as are at this camp. I imagine all the regiments stand nearly upon the same footing in point of deficiency; and from it you will be able to form a pretty just estimate of the men that will be necessary to fill the whole.

Before I conclude I would also add that it will be essential to inoculate the recruits or levies as fast as they are raised that their earliest services may be had. Should this be postponed the work will be to do, most probably, at an interesting and critical period, and when their aid may be materially wanted.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir,
Your most obedient servant,
G$^{o}$. Washington.

P. S. We have taken post here for the winter, as a place best calculated to restrain the ravages of the enemy, and busily employed in erecting huts.

## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

HARTFORD, 14th January, 1778.

SIR, — I am honored with your letters of the 15th and 29th December last. I render you my thanks for the communications they contain. It affords me pleasure to find our exertions to relieve the distresses of our soldiers for clothing hath met so much success. Particular attention will be given on that head in future. The time is come when they will claim a new suit.

By my last you was informed of our sending Colonel Joseph Trumbull to purchase clothing at the eastward. He found that Messrs. Otis and Andrews, within a few days before his coming to Boston, received a commission from Mr. Mease, and instructions from Congress and from him, to purchase all the clothing in that part of the world for the immediate use of the Continental Army, with all possible despatch. With them he agreed not to interfere or attempt purchasing; and that Governor Trumbull should send them, requesting a quantity such as their proportion of the men in the army, and engage to get them made and transported to the army, and deliver them to Mr. Mease, or dispose of them to our troops by order of your Excellency — taking proper receipts therefor — on which they would deliver him the goods. I did accordingly, to expedite the business, and the clothing is come to hand. Such as is fit for immediate use — viz., blankets, stockings, shoes, shirts, hats, caps, etc. — will be sent on to your headquarters with all convenient despatch. Those that are to be made up will be put into hands of tailors. I have thought it best that officers from each regiment might have orders to take care of the matter, and that the head workman should be put under oath to see the same faithfully executed. Major-General Parsons and Huntington are now in this State, with them I purpose to consult for the better effecting it. I fancy

there are a number of soldiers among our troops who are tailors, and might be employed in the business.

In consequence of this undertaking of mine, I have to request your directions and orders that these clothing may be delivered to the soldiers of this State, with advice of the best mode of doing it.

The General Assembly of this State came together last Thursday. Yours of the 29th ultimo came to hand the 10th instant, and was laid before them. The deficiencies in our regiments, shown by the return sent me, will meet the attention its importance demands.

I hope, with you, that early and vigorous measures will be adopted to complete them to their full complement. Expediency and necessity require it, not only from this, but also from the other States. Our inveterate foes will strain every nerve in the manner you mention, which should excite us to be beforehand with them to strike a home blow before they can be reinforced. It is my most ardent desire that every necessary preparation be made. Such a stroke will best relieve the sufferings of the army. For them I have very tender feelings. At the same time, sir, I feel most cordially for the weight and burdens that lie on your Excellency. The matter of inoculation will be attended to.

A general exchange of prisoners is expected to take place this winter, — a thing very desirable, and doubt not your endeavors for it.

[*Signature omitted.*]

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE,
24th January, 1778.

SIR, — I am honored with yours of the 14th instant, and am much obliged for your promised attention to the completing of your regiments; and I hope your exertions

will be attended with the desired success. I am also to thank you for your care in providing clothing for your troops. If the coats should not be cut out before this reaches you, instead of the usual regimental coat, I would recommend a garment of the pattern of the sailors for jacket. This sets close to the body, and by buttoning double over the breast, adds much to the warmth of the soldier. There may be a small cape and cuff of a different color to distinguish the corps. I have consulted most of the officers of the army, and they all seem to think that this kind of coat will be much the best, at least, till we can fall upon means of procuring full supplies of complete uniforms. We cannot spare tailors to go from hence; therefore, if you cannot get all the clothes readily made up, I think you had better send part of the cloth here, with all kinds of necessary trimmings, and the regimental tailors will soon make them up under the inspection of their officers. As the overall is much preferable to breeches, I would recommend as many of them as possible.

The transports that lately arrived at Rhode Island went from Philadelphia. They were empty, and were taken away by Lord Howe to secure them during the winter, as the port of Philadelphia was so crowded that had any part of the fleet taken fire, the whole would have been consumed.

Nothing has been wanting upon my part to procure the release of our prisoners upon just and equitable terms. Congress are fully possessed of all the letters that have ever passed between General Howe and myself upon the subject of exchange, and they have been pleased to approve of the steps I have from time to time taken. If they should think it most conducive to the general good to settle this unhappy dispute upon his terms, I shall most cheerfully acquiesce; for nothing can be more distressing to me than to receive daily applications from the

friends of those in captivity, and not have it in my power to afford them any redress.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest regard,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
Gº. WASHINGTON.

GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

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WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

VALLEY FORGE, 6th February, 1778.

SIR, — I must take the liberty of addressing you on a subject which, though out of your sphere, I am fully persuaded will have every possible attention in your power to give. It is the alarming situation of the army on account of provision. Shall not undertake minutely to investigate the causes of this, but there is the strongest reason to believe that its existence cannot be of long duration, unless more constant, regular, and larger supplies of the meat kind are furnished than have been for some time past. We have been once on the brink of a dissolution in the course of the present year for want of this article, and our condition now is but little better. What is still more distressing, I am assured by Colonel Blaine, Deputy-Commissary in the middle district, comprehending the States of Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, that they are nearly exhausted in this instance, and the most vigorous and active exertions on his part will not procure more than sufficient to supply the army during this month, if so long. This being the case, and as any relief that can be obtained from the more southern States will be but partial, trifling, and of a day, we must turn our views to the eastward, and lay our account of support from thence. Without it we cannot but disband. I must therefore, sir, entreat you in the most earnest terms, and by that zeal which has so eminently distinguished your character in the present arduous struggle,

to give every countenance to the person or persons employed in the purchasing line in your State, and to urge them to the most vigorous efforts to forward supplies of cattle from time to time; and thereby prevent such a melancholy and alarming catastrophe. As I observed before, this subject is rather out of your province, yet I know your wishes to promote the service in every possible degree will render any apology unnecessary, and that the bare state of facts will be admitted as a full and ample justification for the trouble it is like to occasion you.

I have the honor to be,

With great respect and esteem, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Valley Forge,
31st March, 1778.

Sir, — It is some time since I have been honored with a letter from you. The sole reason of my taking up your attention at this time is to lay before you a short state of our present situation, the apparent views of the enemy, and from thence to show the absolute necessity which there is for drawing our force together as quick as possible, and being able to take the field before the enemy are in a condition to begin their operations. Notwithstanding the orders I had given last year to have all the recruits inoculated, I found, upon examination, that between three and four thousand men had not had the small-pox; that disorder began to make its appearance in camp, and to avoid its spreading in the natural way, the whole army [was] immediately inoculated. They have gone through with uncommon success, but are not

yet sufficiently recovered to do duty. All the men of the eastern regiments who were drafted for eight and twelve months were discharged in the winter, and their places have not yet been filled up. Seven of the Virginia regiments had been enlisted for two years; and their time of service expiring about two months ago, they were discharged likewise. Full two thousand men belonging to the different States are returned unfit for duty, for want of clothing, and must consequently be deducted from the effective list, from which also are to be taken the sick present and in hospital. From the above you may form a pretty just estimation of our present force, — I mean with which we should be able to look the enemy in the face.

General Howe has already drawn a body of men, said to be two thousand five hundred, from New York, and several accounts from Rhode Island speak confidently of the intended evacuation of New Port, which I suppose, if it takes place, is also to reinforce Philadelphia. These things indicate the intention of an early movement on the part of the enemy, and indeed, if they have the least penetration, or have profited by past experience, they must know that an early campaign upon their part will be highly advantageous to them. Had they attacked us last spring in the neighborhood of Morris Town before our levies joined, they would undoubtedly have routed us, and perhaps have hindered us from making a junction of any consequence during the remainder of the campaign.

After the foregoing, little need be said to convince you of the absolute necessity of sending forward your levies with the greatest expedition. They are wanted now to enable us to act merely on the defensive; but would the States exert themselves and send such a body of men into the field, before the enemy are fully reinforced, as would enable us to act upon the offensive, such advantages might be taken of them in their present situation, and such posts occupied as would reduce them to the greatest

distress. We may be assured that, notwithstanding the severe blow which Great Britain met with in the loss of Burgoyne's army, she will exert herself most strenuously to repair her credit this campaign. It is plain that France is playing a politic game, enjoying all the advantages of our commerce without the expense of war. It will probably end in a rupture between the two courts, but perhaps not so speedily as some imagine.

Such of the levies as have not been inoculated need not be detained on that account. We have found it more convenient to inoculate them in and near camp. They can be of service in case of emergency, and are not to be subjected to a long march immediately upon their recovery, which has always been much more fatal than the disorder.

Among the troops returned unfit for duty for want of clothing, none of your State are included. The care of your legislature in providing clothing and necessaries of all kinds for their men is highly laudable, and reflects the greatest honor upon their patriotism and humanity.

I wrote to you the 6th ultimo upon our then want of provisions, to which having received no answer, I am doubtful of the letters getting to hand. We have been since better supplied, and as I am informed that Mr. Wadsworth has accepted of the commissary department, I hope that we shall do better in future.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir,
Your most obedient servant,
G$^{o}$. Washington.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, 5th May, 1778.

Sir, — Your alarming letter of the 6th February last came to, and was opened at, Hartford, where the General Assembly were then sitting, on the 17th of that month.

I was at that time so indisposed as to attend business but a small part of the sessions. This, added to the total difference of my sentiments from a great majority of the Assembly, on the subject of the Regulating Act then in consideration, occasioned my not answering you immediately, and I find no one else gave himself the trouble of writing.

My fears of the ill effects of the regulations which have been gone into are not removed. The event, I hope, will disprove them. But the injustice of the present mode I shall ever testify against.

The activity and abilities of Mr. Wadsworth and Champion will doubtless be exerted to the utmost, and I hope will not fail of success.

What fish can be procured are putting up, which may serve the troops on Hudson's River, and leave to you almost, or quite, all the beef we can provide.

Your other letter of the 31st March was received the 9th April. Major-General Putnam came a few days after to collect the new recruits, and was furnished with the orders and assistance necessary. What numbers have been raised I cannot ascertain, but expect our deficiencies will not be great.

The inoculation is omitted. The clothing our troops goes on tolerably well. Hope the mode taken will meet your approbation.

The passing news you will see from the enclosed paper. I am,

Your Excellency's respectful and obedient servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

His Excellency General Washington.

## WASHINGTON TO GENERAL GATES, OR COMMANDING OFFICER AT FISHKILL.

Valley Forge, May 17th, 1778.[1]

Sir, — From a variety of concurring circumstances and the general information of persons coming from Philadelphia, it would appear that the enemy mean to evacuate the city, and accordingly are preparing to embark. Some accounts are that part of the heavy cannon and baggage are already on board, and the whole agree that all the transports are taking in wood and water. Whether an evacuation is really intended, or what their destination will be, supposing that it should take place, is a matter that cannot be determined here. However, I think it is right to give you the substance of the intelligence, that you may be in the best situation circumstances will admit of, in case it should be their view to operate on the North River. That you may be the more respectable, if such should be their design, you will retain all the eastern recruits intended for the regiments here, till I give further directions respecting them. It is probable the point of evacuation, or the contrary, will become so certain, that it may be decided in a few days what measures will be the best to pursue; perhaps at the same time it might not be improper for you to make requisition of the militia, or a part of them, to reinforce the Highland posts, and complete the works, agreeable to the powers vested in you for that purpose. Their services may be very beneficial on condition of a sudden push on the part of the enemy, and will not, at any rate, involve any considerable expense, as a little time will demonstrate what operations the enemy have in contemplation. I have also written to General McDougall requesting him to remain where he is, till he hears further from me.

If the enemy now in Philadelphia are going to leave

[1] See Appendix C., General Gates's letter in reply to this.

the continent, in consequence of the state of affairs in Europe, I should suppose they will also abandon New-York, and that the same preparations for a removal will be making there that are in Philadelphia. It will be very material to obtain good information from thence, and I am persuaded you will use all the means in your power to effect it. If some one or two intelligent persons could be sent in for that purpose, in whose integrity and veracity you could implicitly confide, their report might be exceedingly interesting. As soon as the objects of the present preparations in Philadelphia are well understood, I will advise, and if they shall seem to be directed to the northward of this, I shall afford the earliest, and every possible aid that I can give.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

Major-General Gates, or Commanding Officer at Fishkill.

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## WASHINGTON TO GENERAL GATES.

Headquarters, Valley Forge,
18th June, 1778.

Sir, — This morning about sunrise the rear of the enemy's army evacuated Philadelphia.

To-day. and to-morrow morning our whole army will move towards the Delaware, and should the enemy march rapidly through the Jersey I shall proceed northward as expeditiously as possible. My movements, however, will be directed by theirs.

In your quarter you will take the proper measures on this occasion, and let me particularly recommend to your attention the great object of provisions.

I am, sir, your obedient and very humble servant,

G° Washington.

2 o'clock p. m.

Hon. Major-General Gates.

WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Haverstraw,
18th July, 1778.

Sir, — I did myself the honor to transmit you, a few days ago, the accounts which I had then received of the arrival of a French fleet upon the coast. I soon after had the pleasure of receiving a letter from the Admiral, Count D'Estaing, dated off Sandy Hook, where he now lies with twelve sail of the line, and four frigates. The British fleet are within the Hook.

I am so fully convinced of the advantages that will result from having all our frigates, privateers, and armed vessels of every kind cruising off the east end of Long Island, that I have taken the liberty of mentioning it again to you, and have wrote to the same effect to the States of Rhode Island and Massachusetts. The British fleet, awed by the French, will be obliged to keep together, which will afford the noblest opportunity to our cruisers to pick up whatever is inward bound.

I have the honor to be,
With great respect and esteem, sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Gº. Washington.

P. S. You will oblige me by forwarding the letters to General Sullivan, Governor Greene, and the President of Massachusetts, by a fresh express.

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WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, White Plains,
22d July, 1778.

Sir, — I was yesterday honored with yours of the 18th, and thank you for the steps you have taken to carry my requests into execution. I must make an apology for not informing you, in particular, of our success at Mon-

mouth, on the 28th last month. The multiplicity of affairs then upon my hands prevented me from writing but to the Congress and General Gates, and I expected that the intelligence would have reached you through the latter channel. You must, before this time, have seen my public letter which contains a full account of the action.

The intention of the Count D'Estaing was to have entered the harbor of New York; but unluckily, there is not sufficient draft of water to admit vessels of the rate of his line-of-battle ships. He has therefore determined to operate against Rhode Island, to which place he has sailed ere this. I have made a large detachment from this army, as circumstances would admit of, to co-operate with him. The Admiral will probably be able to land some force, but our principal dependence must be on our own troops, and the rapidity with which they are collected and operate.

I had, upon presumption that this expedition would take place, desired General Sullivan to draw together five thousand men from the States of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, in consequence of a resolve of Congress of the 11th instant.

I am convinced that you will be so well satisfied of the importance of the subject in view, as to exert yourself to turn out the force of your State upon the occasion. I would go more longly into the matter, had I not an opportunity of referring you to Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens, one of my aids, who I am sending express to General Sullivan.

I am exceedingly sorry to hear of the illness of your son, Colonel Joseph Trumbull, whose recovery I hope is not so much despaired of as you seem to apprehend.

I have the honor to be,

With great regard and esteem, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

G°. WASHINGTON.

GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

LEBANON, 25th July, 1778.

SIR, — I received a letter from Major-General Sullivan, of the 22d, advising that he expects the enemy will make a descent on Providence in a very short time, — that they are now seven thousand strong, and in a day or two will be eleven, — requesting aid from this State. Although we are exceedingly exhausted of men, etc., and this critical moment for securing the labors of the last and the produce of this year, which is of essential consequence, rendered it additionally distressing to take off more of our militia, yet I doubt not we should have made an effort to support them; but before we had come to a full determination your Excellency's favor of the 22d from White Plains came to hand advising of Admiral D'Estaing's design at Rhode Island, which has greatly relieved our anxiety for the fate of Providence. I was this day with my Council considering how and in what manner to raise or furnish aid, etc., agreeable to your Excellency's requisition, when I just received another letter from Major-General Sullivan of yesterday requesting, by authority derived from you, five hundred militia from this State to act under his command at Providence. In consequence of which we have given orders for eight companies of militia men to be marched immediately to Providence. So exceedingly difficult was it to take off any more from the pressing labors in the field, that instead of it, we have thought it necessary to call these companies from our sea-coasts, which strips them from Fairfield to New London, and leaves us none of our regiments raised heretofore by enlistment and detachment for our own defence, in addition to all in the various Continental services in which so many of our inhabitants are engaged. If a larger number of the enemy's troops should be drawn from New York to N. Port than your

Excellency was aware of, perhaps you may be able to spare a further detachment from your army so as to release our men who will leave our sea-coasts exposed.

Agreeable to your desire, signified by Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens, I yesterday gave orders for a considerable number of skilful pilots to be sent out from New London in quest of the French fleet, whose seasonable aid appears probable to be of very great importance, and with whom this State will be forward to co-operate to the utmost of our power.

I very sincerely thank your Excellency for your friendly and affectionate good will and wishes towards my late dear son, whom it pleased the sovereign Arbiter of life and death to remove from this world about sunrising of the 23d instant.

This is a heavy and sore breach upon me and my family; but it is my duty to be still and know that God has done it, who has a right to dispose of all his creatures as He pleaseth, and ever exercises that right in perfect consistence with holiness, justice, and goodness.

I am, with great truth and regard, sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

His Excellency General Washington.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, White Plains,
28th July, 1778.

Sir, — I was this morning honored with yours of the 25th. I think you need be under no apprehensions for the safety of your coast while the Count D'Estaing's squadron lays off the harbor of Newport, as the enemy will have sufficient upon their hands to prevent their carrying on a predatory war.

I took the liberty of suggesting to the Count the advantage of sending a ship of force down the Sound to prevent the enemy from reinforcing through Hell Gate, but whether he will incline to divide his fleet in that manner, I cannot say.

I am well aware of the inconveniency of drawing out the militia at this time, but I am in hopes that the importance of the object, and I think I may say the moral certainty of success if the enterprise is supported with spirit, will outweigh every other consideration. Besides, the time of service will probably be but short, as the expedition will either be immediately determined in our favor, or must be laid aside.

It is impossible for me to spare larger detachments from this army than I have already done; as the enemy in and about New-York are superior in force to our main body. Should they reinforce Rhode Island, I shall do so, of course.

I sincerely condole with you on the death of your worthy son Colonel Joseph Trumbull, whose exertions in the cause of his country, while he continued in a public character, will reflect honor upon his memory; and for whom, when living, I entertained a most cordial regard.

I am, with the greatest esteem, sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

G°. Washington.

Governor Trumbull.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, 4th August, 1778.

Sir, — Enclosed is a resolution of the Governor and Council of Safety of this State. It is hoped that your Excellency will make no hesitation to grant the warrant to the amount of the enclosed account. It seems more reasonable for payment to be made to Brigadier-General

Saltonstall from the chest of the United States of America rather than by this State, to whom he will look for payment if he fails of it from your Excellency.

I am, with esteem and regard,

Your Excellency's obedient, humble servant,

JONᵀᴴ TRUMBULL.

HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

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WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, WHITE PLAINS,
8th August, 1778.

SIR, — The fleet at Rhode Island, under the Count D'Estaing, suffers many inconveniences in the procuring of water. I could wish, in case you think it practicable, in case it can be any ways effected, that vessels may be sent forward immediately from New-London with a proper supply. From the situation of his squadron, with respect to water, it is a measure which, if undertaken and executed with alacrity, cannot fail of being of the utmost consequence to the Count. It may prevent also accidents of a very alarming nature, should he be obliged to put to sea. You will, therefore, I hope, take the matter into consideration, and give it that attention which its importance demands. I am, sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

Gᵒ WASHINGTON.

GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

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TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

LEBANON, August 27th, 1778.

SIR, — The act of the General Assembly of this State for raising the two battalions, commanded by Colonels Enos and McClellan, provides that the battalions or any detachment therefrom shall not be continued in actual

service more than three months at any one time, to be computed from the time they shall arrive at the place of their destination. The exigency of the case requiring, they were ordered to march by companies as they could be raised and equipped. Of course arrived at the place of destination at different periods of time,—namely, between the 1st and 20th of June last. Have therefore to request your Excellency, if the public service permit, to dismiss said battalions to return home together the 5th of September next; as thereby the men, who are generally farmers, will be enabled to sow their fields, and provide subsistence for themselves and families another year, which otherwise must be untilled and neglected, many of the militia being called into service in the State of Rhode Island, great part laborers, absent, and very few to be hired.

These two battalions continue until 1st March next to have a recess as mentioned. To grant it at the time mentioned, and to all at once may be beneficial. They may be called soon, if needful; their present situation is at West Point.

I am, with great esteem and regard, sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

His Excellency General Washington.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, 27th August, 1778.

Sir,—I received your favor of the 8th instant, requesting that the fleet under the command of the Count D'Estaing might be supplied with water from New London, for which I gave immediate orders, and sundry vessels were employed in that business, by which conclude they were, and might still, have been supplied with

that very necessary article, had they continued on that station; but alas! contrary to our expectation, the Count with the whole of his fleet are withdrawn and gone to Boston, to repair the damages they received in the late heavy gale, and this notwithstanding the entreaties of General Sullivan, and the other general officers, to the contrary; of which event your Excellency hath undoubtedly been advised before this.

The consequence, I fear, will be that we shall be obliged to evacuate Rhode Island. Thus are our raised expectations from an expedition, which had all the appearance of success, damped. This shows us that we ought not to place our dependence too much on foreign aid; — but may such disappointment teach us to place our trust and confidence in that Supreme Being who governs the universe, and can, with infinite ease, turn those things which we are ready to conclude are against us, eventually to our advantage, in whose allwise disposals may we cheerfully acquiesce, and rest satisfied that whatever he doth is right.

I must now beg leave to turn your attention to a case of peculiar and accumulated distress, I mean the distressed situation of the inhabitants of Westmoreland, on the Susquehanna, who survived the more than barbarian cruelty of the Indians and Tories, which, in conjunction, they savagely wreaked on that unhappy place, in beginning of July last, slaying above three hundred men, and driving more than three thousand inhabitants, mostly women and children, from their before peaceful habitations, after having stripped and plundered them of all the necessaries of life, burning and destroying all their buildings, and carrying off all their cattle and other live stock, leaving them in the most destitute and deplorable circumstances, — a particular representation whereof hath lately been laid before me by Messrs. Jenkins, Gallup, and Harding, persons of integrity, who removed from the

eastern part of this State, and settled at said Westmoreland, and had the good fortune to escape the carnage; they also inform, that at the time the inhabitants came off, there was on the ground large and very valuable crops of English and Indian corn, which must inevitably be lost unless speedy measures be taken to prevent it.

Your Excellency hath undoubtedly been made acquainted with the distresses of this people, and felt the tenderest emotions for them, and a willingness to afford them all the relief in your power, consistent with the safety and good of the whole.

I have this day wrote to Congress on the subject, and proposed to their consideration, whether it would not be advisable that a sufficient force, to consist of fifteen hundred or two thousand men, be immediately sent into that part of the country, under whose protection the inhabitants would return and secure their crops, which would be an important acquisition, and also to pursue that detestable banditti into their own country, chastise them for their insolence, and cruelty exercised towards the innocent inhabitants aforementioned, and effectually prevent their making any further depredations on that, or any other of our back settlements. Such measure, am persuaded, would produce the happiest effects. Would recommend this affair to your Excellency's consideration, and wish, in case the state of the army and present appearances of things will permit, that your Excellency would order a sufficient number to be detached from the Continental army, and employed for the purpose aforesaid.

I am, with esteem and regard, sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, 6th September, 1778.

Dear Sir, — I had the satisfaction of your two favors, both of the 27th ultimo.

The battalions of Colonel Enos McClellan, I am informed by Colonel Malcom, who commands where they were stationed, were to be discharged, and I suppose they are now on their way home.

The violent gale which dissipated the two fleets when on the point of engaging, and the withdrawing of the Count D'Estaing to Boston, may appear to us as real misfortunes, — but with you I consider storms and victory under the direction of a wise Providence, who, no doubt, directs them for the best of purposes, and to bring round the greatest degree of happiness to the greatest number of his people.

I feel with you for the unfortunate frontiers exposed to all the inroads of an enemy, whose natural barbarity in war has been increased by the arts and influence of a civilized nation. I had early ordered for the defence of the inhabitants, Colonel Hartley's regiment, Colonel Butler's, Colonel Olden's with the remains of Morgan's rifle corps. These, I believe, have been of considerable service, but I am unhappy in not having it in my power to afford them at present a more complete and sufficient security, from this army, for the purpose you mention, of carrying the war into the enemy's country. It is of the utmost importance to maintain the force now in the field, and even to increase it as far as possible. However, as soon as circumstances will admit of putting a more comprehensive plan into execution, I shall be ready to give it all kind of furtherance in my power.

I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

Governor Trumbull.

## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, FREDERICKSBURG,
22d September, 1778.

SIR,—I do myself the honor of transmitting you copies of two letters from Colonel Biddle and Charles Pettit, Esq., upon the subject of forage. The representations of these gentlemen are so full, and so well founded respecting the difficulties that attend the getting of this important article, from the reluctance of the holders to part with it, and the exorbitant and enormous prices they demand for it, that I shall not trouble you with any observations upon the occasion; however, I think it necessary to add, that unless some effectual means can be devised by which the army may be supplied with forage with more certainty, and on terms much more moderate than it is at present, it will be impossible for it to exist long. What the means will be I shall not attempt to point out, for I confess the subject appears to me to be involved in great intricacy, and I am the less inclined to enter upon it, from a perfect conviction, that you and the other branches of your legislature will be forward to adopt every expedient that may seem calculated to afford the smallest relief in this interesting and essential point.

I have the honor to be,
With great respect and esteem, sir,
Your most obedient servant,
G°. WASHINGTON.

P. S. The rates of wagonage and cartage also call for the interposition of the legislature. They are now exorbitant in the extreme.

GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, FREDERICKSBURG,
11th October, 1778.

DEAR SIR, — I am honored with yours of the 9th, enclosing a resolution of your legislature, directing two companies of Colonel Enos's regiment to be stationed at Greenwich. I cannot but express my fears that they will be in danger, except they act as a kind of patrol.

The light corps of the army under General Scott affords as much cover to that part of the country as it is possible for me to give in our present situation. It is so near to Kingsbridge, at which the enemy keep a very considerable force, that to post a body of troops there, out of supporting distance, would be an invitation to the enemy to come out, and certain destruction to the men. Strong patrols from the advanced corps go as far down as they can, consistent with safety, and prevent the enemy from doing more than taking off some forage or cattle, if they fall in their way; this is an inconvenience that those who lay near the enemy's lines must from the nature of things unavoidably submit to.

From every information the enemy are upon the eve of some general and important move. Many think that they mean to evacuate New York totally. If they do this, the most likely place of operation, if they remain upon the Continent, will be against Boston, for the purpose of destroying the French fleet in that harbor. To be prepared to throw in the most timely assistance, should such an event take place, was the reason of my withdrawing the army from the White Plains, and taking the present position. The expediency of this move naturally exposed the southwest quarter of your State somewhat more than when we lay lower down. But I am in hopes that the inhabitants have not suffered much from the ravages of the enemy, as our advanced corps have been

very alert and have kept them pretty much within bounds, except when they came out in great force.

I have the honor to be, with the highest esteem,
Your Excellency's most obedient
G° WASHINGTON.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

HARTFORD, October 28th, 1778.

SIR, — As the season approaches when the army will be drawing into winter quarters, beg leave to suggest to your Excellency whether it will not be convenient, beneficial, and consistent with the general good of the service, that the troops from this State, or one brigade of them, should be cantoned out somewhere near the sea-coasts, upon the southeastern and western frontiers of this State, where they may be best accommodated, and serve as a protection thereto, and for the relief of our militia during their stay, which I doubt not will be agreeable to our troops. I thought proper thus timely to mention this for your consideration, and am, with great esteem and regard,

Your Excellency's most obedient,
Very humble servant,
JON^TH TRUMBULL.

HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, FREDERICKSBURG,
7th November, 1778.

DEAR SIR, — I am honored by yours of the 28th. I had, previous to the receipt of it, determined upon such a disposition of the troops for the winter as will serve the purposes you mention. As soon as the intentions of the

enemy are more clearly known, I shall fix upon the places of cantonment, and assign the troops to their respective stations.

A fleet of upwards of one hundred sail left the Hook on the morning of the 3d, supposed to be bound to the West Indies. I cannot ascertain the number of troops on board. Whether a further embarkation from New York is to take place this Fall, I am not able yet to determine, but as we have spies upon their motions, I expect soon to learn that they are preparing for it.

I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

G.º Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, 17th November, 1778.

Sir, — Captain Samuel Parmele of Guilford, in this State, brought me a number of evidences and applications relative to Luther Parmele, son to the captain, William Handy, Leuman Goave, Ichabod Hill, and Daniel Tuthill, all of Guilford, — young men imposed upon by Lieutenant Linus Hopson, and induced to enlist into the Continental service as shoemakers, in a company of mechanics. The young men were minors, and learning the trade of shoemakers or cordwainers, and induced by delusion to enlist, supposing they might perfect themselves in their business, and would not have entered the service on any other conditions, when they find to their surprise, there are no shoemakers employed in the mechanic companies. It will prove very detrimental to the public, as well as to them, to have such deceit and delusion practised.

I do, on the request of Captain Parmele, recommend their case to your wise and prudent consideration, that

justice may be done them, and they dismissed from the service, with proper allowances and wages, for the time they have been therein. He will produce to you the evidences and necessary documents, which renders it unnecessary for me to enlarge on the subject.

I am, with esteem and regard, sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

His Excellency General Washington.

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WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Middle Brook,
December 19, 1778.

Dear Sir,— I am honored with your Excellency's favor of the 12th instant, enclosing the copies of two letters relative to the disposition of the troops on the east side of the North River, and the quartering of Colonel Sheldon's regiment of dragoons.

There is nothing I have more at heart than the ease and security of every part of the country and its inhabitants, and I wish your Excellency to believe that in the present distribution of the army, I have consulted these objects, to the best of my judgment, as far as could be done, consistently with a due attention to other objects, too essential to be neglected. You are sensible, sir, that in military operations there are many partial evils, which must be submitted to, to attain the principal end to which they are directed; however desirable the protection of those parts of the country most contiguous to the enemy, and the convenience of the inhabitants in general, these must sometimes give place to other considerations of greater magnitude. The present disposition of the army, after a full consideration of every circumstance, has been thought best calculated to unite the greatest number of advantages with the fewest disadvantages. To enter into

a detail of the reasons on which it has been formed, would be giving your Excellency unnecessary trouble. I shall therefore only observe that the easy subsistence and accommodation of the troops, their discipline and security, and the facility of collecting them to the principal points of defence, which require their being as little dispersed as possible, and the protection and convenience of the country and the inhabitants, have all been endeavored to be provided for, as far as they could be reconciled to each other, and to the general situation of our affairs at this period.

The great desire I feel to comply with your Excellency's wishes on every occasion, makes it painful to me, that in the present case, I do not think it would be advancive of the service to make these changes in the disposition of the troops, which your transmitting the letter from Colonels Enos and Meade seems to indicate would be agreeable to you. I should not be without apprehensions for the safety of the brigades themselves, stationed where they propose.

The detaching one so far from the High Land posts would lessen the security of those important places, an unequal portion of duty would be thrown upon the advanced brigades, and the discipline of the whole would be injured by adding to the dispersion. The directions I have given to Generals Putnam and McDougall, to keep a succession of parties constantly advanced towards the enemy's lines, from the Sound to the North River, without being liable to the same disadvantages, will pretty effectually answer the same end. If this has not yet been done, it is, I suppose, to be ascribed to the troops having been hitherto employed in covering themselves for the winter.

With respect to the proposal for dividing Sheldon's regiment, and sending a part of it to Wallingford, or Middletown, this arrangement would interfere with a

general principle essential to order and discipline, to which I have strictly adhered, for keeping every corps in a collected state. It has been with great reluctance that I have separated the different regiments of cavalry from each other, but the impossibility of subsisting and accommodating them, in one body, put me under a necessity of making a division of this kind. To carry it further would be ruinous to this useful part of the army; and I do not apprehend that the regiment in question could be removed to any other [*sic*] where it could be equally well provided in a collected state, with forage and quarters, without being attended with the same inconveniences as at Durham. This place was pointed out as the most commodious, by the Quartermaster-General, in his arrangement for cantoning the army; and as I have received a very favorable account of the situation of the regiment, in point of accommodation, from Colonel Sheldon himself, this is an additional motive to wish its continuance where it is.

With the truest respect and esteem,
I have the honor to be, dear sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Gº. Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Middle Brook,
March 24th, 1779.

Sir, — The present situation of the enemy, and the appearances that hostilities are still to continue, make it necessary that we should know our resources with tolerable certainty, and the aid that may be derived from the militia in case it should be requisite. To this end I must take the liberty of soliciting your good offices, and to request that your Excellency will inform me, by the first

safe occasion that shall present itself, what force of well-armed militia, rank and file, may, in your judgment, be drawn from Connecticut by the first of June, for three or four months, if the measure should be found expedient; and what part of them, on account of their contiguity, may be assembled at Co-os by that period to act for the same term, and as circumstances may point out. Your Excellency will readily perceive the necessity there is for my obtaining good information in this respect, in order to determine on some system of conduct, and such as there will be a prospect of supporting when adopted.

I have the honor to be,

With great respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

Gº. WASHINGTON.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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WASHINGTON TO GENERAL GATES.

Headquarters, Middle Brook,
April 17th, 1779.

Sir, — I shall be under the necessity of drawing away a part of the troops now under your command, to serve elsewhere. You will therefore be pleased to direct General Glover's brigade to hold itself in readiness to march at the shortest notice. I hope the powerful aids of militia, which you may call in on any emergency, in conjunction with the force still remaining, and the fifteen hundred troops to be raised by a late act of the State of Rhode Island, will secure you from experiencing any ill effects from this diminution, and enable you to cover the principal points which require attention.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

Gº. WASHINGTON.

Major-General Gates.

## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

LEBANON, 27th April, 1779.

SIR, — I have taken time and opportunity to consult with gentlemen, in order to give the better information on the head of inquiry mentioned in your letter of the 24th of March last.

This State intend to complete their quota of Continental battalions; after this, it is my opinion that one battalion of militia equal in number to a Continental one may be drawn from hence well equipped, and commanded by our militia officers, and assembled at Co-os agreeable to your proposal. It is indeed apprehended that, if the service would admit thereof, the longer before the same is required the less it will hinder our agriculture, and if not called for till August, harvest and getting hay will be nearly finished, and the men can be soon collected and equipped. Of this I shall want advice sometime in May, when our Assembly will be sitting.

Our extensive sea-coasts, with the present situation and movements of the enemy, strongly indicate invasion or frequent irruptions into this State, that it is one object of their rage and depredations. This occasions my application and request, that one or two regiments of Continental troops may be stationed at New Haven and New London, for the defence of our sea-coasts. The calling of militia is a great prejudice to the husbandry, and, unless we have aid from Continental troops, or the enemy change their present position and object, I dare not give encouragement for more than one battalion of militia.

I am, with esteem and regard,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Fishkill, June 18th, 1779.

Dear Sir, — Mr. Starr, an agent for the Board of War in a factory at Middletown, has represented to me that the public service is like to suffer very materially from the workmen employed with him being called out to serve in the militia.

The business under Mr. Starr's direction is of so much importance, that I could wish if possible it might meet with no interruption. I am therefore induced to request the favor of your Excellency to grant an exemption to such of the militia as are engaged in this factory. They will certainly be more useful here than they can be in the field. But as I am sensible that an indulgence of this kind may be abused and extended too far, I beg leave to suggest to your Excellency that it will be proper to accompany it with restrictions that it will prevent its being made a sanction to excuse persons who are not really entitled to it.

With the most perfect respect and esteem,
I have the honor to be,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
Gº. Washington.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

[Circular.]

Headquarters, West Point,
August 26th, 1779.

Sir, — In a letter which I had the honor of addressing to your Excellency on the 22d of May, I took the liberty to mention the inconveniencies which had prevailed for want of system in the clothing department, and the necessity there was for an early appointment of State or

sub-clothiers, agreeable to the ordinance established by Congress, by their Act of the 23d of March, with which I presumed your Excellency had been made acquainted. I am now under the necessity of troubling you with a farther address, upon the subject of clothing itself. From the best information I have been able to obtain, both from returns and particular inquiries, I fear there is but too much reason to apprehend that, unless the respective States interpose with their exertions, our supplies of this essential article will be very deficient; and that the troops may again experience on this account a part of those distresses which were so severely and injuriously felt in past stages of the war; and which a regard to the interests of the States as well as to the duties of humanity, should prevent, if it be practicable. I do not know exactly how matters will turn out with respect to woollen clothing, I should hope tolerably well, but if the attention of the State should even go to this, there will be little probability of our having an over-supply. But the articles to which I would take the liberty to solicit your Excellency's most particular attention, are blankets, shirts, shoes, and hats (more especially the two first), as our prospect of these is by no means pleasing, and such indeed as decides that the supply from the Continental clothiers and agents will fall far short, or at least stand upon too critical and precarious a footing. The importance and advantages of good supplies of clothing are evident, and they have been most remarkably and happily demonstrated in the health of the troops, since they have been pretty comfortably provided for in this instance, — a circumstance of all others the most interesting.

While I am on the subject of clothing, I would also beg leave to add, that the condition of the officers in this respect appears to me to require the attention of their States. It is really in many instances painfully distress-

ing. The want of necessaries and of the means of procuring them, at the present exorbitant prices, has compelled a great many officers, of good reputation and merit, to resign their commissions; and if they are not relieved, it must be the case with many others, as they will have no alternative.

I have the honor to be,

With the greatest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

[Circular.]

Headquarters, West Point,[1]
August 26th, 1779.

Sir, — I have the honor to enclose your Excellency a list of sundry officers belonging to your State who have been in captivity and are reported by the Commissary of Prisoners as violators of parole. A conduct of this kind, so ignominious to the individuals themselves, so dishonorable to their country and to the service in which they have been engaged, and so injurious to those gentlemen who were associated with them in misfortune, but preserved their honor, demands that every measure should be taken to deprive them of the benefit of their delinquency, and to compel their return. We have pledged ourselves to the enemy to do everything in our power for this purpose; and, in consequence, I directed Mr. Beatty, Commissary of Prisoners, to issue the summons, which you will probably have seen in the public papers. But as it is likely to have a very partial operation, I find it necessary, in aid of it, to request the inter-

[1] This letter appears to be a duplicate of letter to J. Powell, President of the Council of Massachusetts. Sparks's Writings of Washington, vi. 334.

position of the executive powers of the different States to enforce a compliance.

Most of these persons never having been, and none of them now being in Continental service, military authority will hardly be sufficient to oblige them to leave their places of residence and return to captivity, against their inclination. Neither will it be difficult for them to elude a military search and keep themselves in concealment. I must therefore entreat that your Excellency will be pleased to take such measures as shall appear to you proper and effectual, to produce their immediate return. This will be rendering an essential service to our officers in general in captivity, will tend much to remove the difficulties which now lie in the way of exchanges, and to discourage the practice of violating paroles in future.

I have the honor to be,
With the greatest respect and esteem,
Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
Gº. Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, West Point,
October 7th, 1779.

Sir, — I had the honor of addressing your Excellency on the 4th instant, upon the subject of an expected co-operation with the Count D'Estaing against the common enemy. I find upon a consultation with Brigadier-General Knox, that the probable expenditure of ammunition, should such an event take place, will be more than our Continental magazines are likely to afford. You must be so fully sensible of the consequences which would follow the interruption of our operations for want of powder, even for one day, that I shall make no apology

for requesting a loan from the State of Connecticut of as much of that article, from their private magazines, as they can possibly spare, should any enterprise of consequence, in conjunction with the fleet and army of His Most Christian Majesty, be undertaken.

I have, upon every occasion, so fully experienced your Excellency's zeal and attention to the concerns of the general interest, that I am convinced of your using all your influence with the State in obtaining the grant of this my request. I shall be glad to know what reliance I may have upon you, and what quantity I may expect.

I have the honor to be,

With the greatest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

P. S. I have this moment been honored with yours of the 2d, the contents of which afford me great pleasure.

Your Excellency may depend on the earliest intelligence of the Count's approach. I beg leave to refer you to mine of the 4th for the particulars required in yours of the 2d.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, West Point,
10th October, 1779.

Dear Sir, — I find, upon recurring to my letter of the 7th to your Excellency, that I was not sufficiently explicit in answering that part of yours of the 2d instant, in which you desire to know whether in my opinion the militia at present on duty on the coast may be safely withdrawn from thence in case of the expected operations, and be considered as part of the four thousand demanded of the State.

They undoubtedly may under such circumstances, because the enemy must, during the course of the operations, be confined to the defensive only, and that, upon a very contracted plan. The troops that are already drawn out, and upon the coast, may remain at their present stations till more particularly called for. I only wish that they may be formed into proper sized regiments, completely officered, and in every respect ready to march at a moment's warning, and that a return may be made to me specifying the corps, their stations, and the officers upon whom I may call to march and join the army when necessary. Those wanting to complete the number of four thousand may rendezvous at Seabrook and Stratford, as requested in mine of the 4th instant, or join those now on the coast, as you shall judge best.

I must beg your attention to that part of mine of the 4th which respects the time of service of the militia now required, perhaps that of those of whom we have been speaking (except Colonel Mead's and Colonel Wells's regiments) may expire before the stipulated time. If so, they must either be engaged anew, or others may be prepared to relieve them upon the ground, as the deficiency of so large a number, at a critical moment, might be fatal to the whole plan of operations.

I have the honor to be,

With the greatest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

Governor Trumbull.

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### WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, West Point,
October 13th, 1779.

Sir, — In mine of the 12th, I requested you to employ the men of your regiment in making fascines, etc., and desired you to communicate the same request to the com-

manding officers of the other corps on duty upon the Sound. I have since thought that the work might be facilitated, under the direction of an officer acquainted with that kind of business, and have therefore sent Mons. Mournand, major in the corps of engineers, to give necessary instructions for the formation and lengths of the fascines, gabions, etc. Your giving this gentleman all possible aid and countenance in the execution of the command upon which he is sent, and recommending the same to the other commanding officers of corps in the neigborhood of your post, will promote the public service, and oblige,

Sir, your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

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TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Hartford, 14th October, 1779.

Dear Sir, — Your favors of the 4th, 7th, and 10th, are duly arrived. Enclosed you will have our doings respecting the militia desired from this State, which are not yet carried into complete effect, — waiting some further intelligence from the Count's fleet. Respecting your Excellency's request for powder, there is considerable quantity in the State. I this day meet my Assembly in this place, and by their direction I fancy you may be supplied with ten or fifteen tons if needed. I must beg the earliest intelligence from your Excellency of your expectations from the fleet, when our utmost exertions may be depended on as soon as our co-operation becomes necessary.

I am, sir,

Jonth Trumbull.

His Excellency General Washington.

* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, WEST POINT,
15th October, 1779.

DEAR SIR, — I have been duly favored with your Excellency's letter of yesterday's date, and thank you for your ready attention to my requisitions.

The moment I receive the intelligence from the Count which is to determine our operations, or how far the assistance of the country will be necessary to carry them into execution, I shall do myself the honor to give you the earliest advice. I wait anxiously for this communication, for as your Excellency observes the season is coming upon us very fast.

I congratulate you on the success of our Western expedition. Everything is completely destroyed in the country of the hostile Indians, and the whole undertaking finished with the most inconsiderable loss. The army under General Sullivan, I expect, is by this time at Easton on its march to this place.

I have the honor to be,

With the greatest regard,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

G°. WASHINGTON.

HIS EXCELLENCY JONATHAN TRUMBULL, ESQ.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, WEST POINT,
4th November, 1779.

DEAR SIR, — I have to acknowledge your Excellency's favor of the 30th of last month relative to the case of Lieutenant Sylvanus Meade.

I am induced to believe, on considering the peculiarity of the circumstances attending Mr. Meade's coming out of New York, that he acted without design of violating

any engagement which the indulgence he received from the enemy implied. And I shall direct the Commissary of Prisoners to account for him by a regular exchange, without his returning to the enemy.

I would beg leave to request your attention to a subject which I mentioned to your Excellency in a former letter. I mean the piracies on the wretched inhabitants of Long Island. A very late one, said to be committed by some subject of the State of New York, makes me renew my application for your endeavors to stop a practice so contrary to good policy and the interests of our cause. I have written to Governor Clinton more particularly on this business.

I am, dear sir, with great regard,

Your most obedient servant,

G°. WASHINGTON.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, West Point,
12th November, 1779.

Dear Sir, — I have been honored with your Excellency's favor of the 5th.[1]

The operations to the southward have been of so much longer duration than was at first apprehended, and no certain accounts being yet received that have come to my knowledge, induces me to think that the probability of an attempt against the enemy in this quarter, more especially considering the advanced state of the season, is a matter of the greatest uncertainty. Under these circumstances, and desirous to avoid every possible expense, I would not wish that the required number of militia should at this time be drawn to their places of rendezvous.

[1] Sparks's Letters to Washington, ii. 341.

Their being held in readiness will be, in my opinion, sufficient to answer the purpose of the expected co-operation. How far it may be advisable, on other accounts, I must leave to your Excellency's determination.

Besides what I have mentioned, there are other reasons why the militia should not be assembled without an absolute occasion. I allude in particular to the condition of our magazines of flour. The uncommon drought (not to hint at circumstances which must be well known to your Excellency) has affected us exceedingly in this article. A considerable quantity of wheat now lies in the mills in this State, unmanufactured for want of water, and the same cause produces the same effects in some of the neighboring States.

I need not take notice to your Excellency of my intention to afford every protection to your State which our strength, a proper dependence on our supplies, and the situation of things in general, will admit. Our arrangements for the winter shall be directed by these objects. But should the enemy keep themselves united, as at present, and make no considerable detachments, we may find it absolutely expedient to observe a similar conduct, that the common cause may not encounter the greater evil, while we attempt to avoid the lesser.

I am, dear sir, with the greatest regard,

Your Excellency's obedient and humble servant,

G° Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, West Point,
16th November, 1779.

Dear Sir, — In my letter of the 12th I mentioned to your Excellency that the operations to the southward had taken up more time than was at first apprehended, and

that this, with the advanced season of the year, made the expected co-operation a matter of the utmost uncertainty. I am sorry to inform you that by despatches received last night, there has been an alteration of circumstances in that quarter which must render it altogether impossible, at least for the present.

It would appear that there was a necessity for the Count's returning to the West Indies, which made it impracticable to spend that time before the works of Savannah requisite to carry them by regular approach. This induced the allied arms to hazard the reduction of the place by assault. It was undertaken accordingly on the 9th of October, when we were repulsed. I do not learn the particulars of our loss. The Count was slightly wounded in the leg and arm, and General Pulaski died a few days after of his wounds. The allied officers and men behaved with great bravery and spirit. This repulse comprehends the whole of our misfortune, as we met with no hindrance in removing our stores and baggage. I have drawn together these several matters more for your private satisfaction than any public purpose, as Congress, I suppose, I [*sic*] will direct a publication.

The requisition for the militia holding themselves in readiness being no longer necessary, your Excellency will take such order as you may think proper on the occasion. I cannot but express my sense to your Excellency of the ready compliance in every step which appeared necessary in the business that for some time past has engaged our attention. And I promise myself everything to our cause from the good disposition of the militia when it may become proper to make use of their services.

I have the honor to be, with great regard,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
G$^{o}$. Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

West Point, November 20th, 1779.

Sir, — I have been honored with your Excellency's letter of the 16th. I assure you, sir, I should esteem myself happy if it were in my power to comply with your request with respect to the troops ordered from Rhode Island, but it is really not. I have no alternative in the matter, or at least I could not consent to their remaining with you, without departing from such an arrangement as a regard to the general interest and the situation of our affairs seem to me indispensably to require, — a circumstance which your Excellency would neither wish nor permit. An attention to the general weal must be with me, as it will ever be with you, the first object, and whenever this shall appear to me secure, I persuade myself with great satisfaction and confidence that you believe I shall most cheerfully afford any aid in my power to give, to individual States, — protection to all is my warmest wish, but unfortunately, our means will not admit of it, and I have frequently to regret, as in the present instance, that my abilities are not equal to my inclinations, and I would willingly hope that whenever I do not comply with matters of your request, that you will indulgently impute it to the real cause, that of necessity. In the disposition of the army I must particularly attend to the security of this post — to the security of itself against insult and against defeat. If the enemy remain in New York in near their present force, nothing more can be promised from it, and possibly not this, if they are governed by a spirit of enterprise. There is one circumstance more which I will add; you will but too readily feel the inference. Enlistments of a permanent nature were not the policy of the times, and accordingly our army was levied. You, with me, will painfully reflect on the period. Desirous, however, to give such protec-

tion to the State as our circumstances may possibly justify, I mean to station the New Hampshire troops at Danbury, and Moylan's and Sheldon's regiments east of that; which makes a part of my arrangement. I cannot do more with the least propriety, as a greater division or extension of our force might at least expose us to great accidents. Light parties will be detached from hence during the winter towards the enemy's lines, which will in some measure enable General Poor to turn his attention more to the Sound, and to give aid in case of exigency. These and pressing calls for succor to be sent to South Carolina and Georgia, and for which I shall be happy, if we should not have occasion to fear much; but no more can be possibly afforded than the remains of two regiments of North Carolina, which were here, and this by direction of Congress, founded more in the absolute necessity of the measure than our abilities to spare them.

I have the honor to be,
With sentiments of great regard
And respectful attachment,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
Gº. Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Morristown,
8th December, 1779.

Dear Sir, — I have been honored with your Excellency's favors of the 23d ultimo. It gives me great pleasure to find your intention of laying the state of the troops of your line before your Assembly at as early a period as possible. I have directed the returns which you call for to be made out, and I hope they will be

transmitted in time to meet the Assembly at the opening of the session.

I had, previous to the receipt of your Excellency's letter, furnished Congress with a very exact return of the state of the army, specifying the different terms of service, and earnestly requested them to call upon the different legislatures to make up the deficiencies which would soon follow by the expiration of the former enlistments.

With respect to the expediency of immediately filling the vacancies which have happened in the Connecticut Line, and which your Excellency has been pleased to refer to my consideration, I am clearly of opinion that justice to the officers in succession, and good policy, require the measure. Making promotions is very different from introducing new officers. The approbation of the particular gentlemen named by you does not in anywise lay with me; I can only hope that they are entitled by the course of succession, as established by the regulations of the army, to the vacancies to which they are nominated. The recommendation is to be transmitted directly by the State, and not through me, to the Board of War, who will issue the commissions in consequence.

You will be pleased to be particular in ascertaining the dates at which the vacancies happened, and naming the officers who occasioned them.

I am, with the highest respect and regard,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
G° WASHINGTON.

GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

LEBANON, 27th December, 1779.

DEAR SIR,—I have duly received your Excellency's letter of the 20th November, and painfully note some of

its paragraphs as they respect the interests of the States. The recruiting anew the army is an object of great weight on my mind. Important however as I deem it, I have not yet received a word from Congress on the subject of measures to be taken for that purpose.

Many evil and pernicious practices having been for some time past carried on by some of the people of this State with the enemy at New York and on Long Island, by which the enemy have drawn from us large supplies of provisions and refreshments, to the great detriment of our own support, — to prevent as much as possible such wicked and illicit communications in future, measures are taken, and now putting into execution by this State, to watch and intercept all intercourse whatever with the enemy from our shores and borders, without special permission for special purposes. In aid of these measures of Government, if your Excellency should be pleased to give particular orders to General Poor to lend us his assistance and co-operation I flatter myself it might have a happy effect. On this ground I beg your Excellency to send such instructions to General Poor as you may think conducive to the end proposed. I have also thought whether some additional aid might not be afforded from the Light Dragoons posted in this State; by being detached on particular occasions, as they may receive orders from the executive power of this State, they may in some good measure subserve the design in view.

I have long imagined that the interests of the Union might be much served, and our supplies much augmented or better secured, by particular attention being paid to the prevention of these surreptitious supplies of provisions which have been clandestinely cast into the lap of our enemies, not only from persons particularly inimical to the States, but from many others in this and the neighboring States who border on the enemy, from views of private interest, arising from the tempting prospects of

gain which have been presented to them; and perhaps instances are not wanting where these temptations have overcome the virtue of those who have been specially employed for particular purposes of secret service. Will your Excellency be pleased to turn a thought to the subject, and favor me with your sentiments thereon?

The mention of the Light Dragoons reminds me of a circumstance relating to that corps which I have wanted to hint to you, — that is, that I fear your Excellency has not been well informed of the situation of the towns in which these troops are posted, with respect to the magazines of forage which have been provided for the subsistence of their horses. The principal magazine of hay, I am told, is now from twenty to twenty-five miles distance from the places where the troops are now lodged, which must occasion great expense in the carriage, over roads which at some times, and especially in the spring, are so bad that a good team will scarcely carry enough for their own support on the way. Suffer me to suggest to you, that during the winter season, when the River Connecticut is generally well frozen, I should imagine the horses might be lodged near their magazines of forage without any prejudice to the general service, especially as there are already large buildings erected by the Quartermaster as barns and stables for covering the horses, and I have no doubt the men may be well lodged and accommodated. I only hint this circumstance at a time when there is great need of retrenching our expenses as much as possible, and flatter myself your Excellency may improve it to some general advantage.

Wishing you the compliments of the season, I am, with great sincerity of respect and esteem, dear sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRIS TOWN,
January 8th, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I have the honor to enclose your Excellency the copy of a letter I have just received from the late Commissary General, by which you will see upon how ill a footing our future prospects of supplies are, particularly with respect to meat. This corresponds with representations from every quarter, and with what we actually feel. The army has been near three months on a short allowance of bread; within a fortnight past almost perishing. They have been sometimes without bread, sometimes without meat; at no time with much of either, and often without both. They have borne their distress, in which the officers have shared a common lot with the men, with as much fortitude as human nature is capable of; but they have been at last brought to such a dreadful extremity, that no authority or influence of the officers, no virtue or patience in the men themselves, could any longer restrain them from obeying the dictates of their sufferings. The soldiery have in several instances plundered the neighboring inhabitants even of their necessary subsistence. Without an immediate remedy this evil would soon become intolerable, and unhappily for us we have no prospect of relief through the ordinary channels. We are reduced to this alternative, either to let the army disband or to call upon the several counties of this State to furnish a proportion of cattle and grain for the immediate supply of our wants. If the magistrates refuse their aid, we shall be obliged to have recourse to a military impress.

But this, sir, is an expedient as temporary in its relief as it is disagreeable in its execution and injurious in its tendency. An army is not to be supported by measures of this kind. Something of a more permanent and effec-

tual nature must be done. The legislative authority of the respective States must interpose its aid. The public treasury is exhausted; we have no magazines anywhere that I know of; the public officers have neither money nor credit to procure supplies. I assure your Excellency, as far as my knowledge extends this is a faithful representation of our affairs. Our situation is more than serious, it is alarming. I doubt not your Excellency will view it in the same light, and that the Legislature of the State of Connecticut will give a fresh proof of their wisdom and zeal for the common cause, by their exertions upon the present occasion; and I hope I shall be thought to be justified by circumstances when I add, that unless each State enters into the business of supplying the army, as a matter seriously interesting to our political salvation, we may shortly be plunged into misfortunes from which it may be impossible to recover.

I have made a similar representation to all the States on which we depend for supplies. Maryland has passed an act which promises us much assistance in the article of flour and forage, though it must be some time before we can feel the benefit of it. She has appointed Commissioners in each county, with full power to purchase or impress all the grain in the State, more than is sufficient for the use of the inhabitants, and has interested them in a vigorous execution of the Commission. I flatter myself the other States will make equal exertions; and then we shall escape the calamities with which we are now threatened.

I have the honor to be,
With the utmost respect and esteem,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
G.º Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRISTOWN,
14th January, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I was yesterday honored with your Excellency's favor of the 27th ultimo. It gives me pleasure to hear that the Legislature of your State have fallen upon so effectual measures to put a stop to all illicit intercourse between its inhabitants and the enemy in New-York and upon Long Island. The practice, I am convinced, has been extremely beneficial to our enemy and detrimental to us. I have ever exerted the military authority to the utmost to restrain it, and I flatter myself that I have lately, in conjunction and with the approbation of the civil power of this State, checked the practice in this quarter, which had grown under the cover of flag-boats, and through their abuse, to a most alarming height. I left orders of a similar nature with General Heath, which I am persuaded he will execute punctually, so far as cases may fall within the limits of his command. I have given directions to General Poor to assist the civil authority when called upon for the more effectual execution of the law, to which you refer. Colonel Moylan, who commands the cavalry now stationed at Colchester, is also desired to do the same. I must, however, observe to your Excellency, that as the Horse, after a fatiguing campaign, require as much repose as possible in their winter quarters, I shall be obliged to you for dispensing with their services as far as circumstances will admit, only calling upon them in cases of emergency.

The Cavalry had, previous to your Excellency's representation, been ordered to remove to Colchester, upon hearing that there would be much difficulty and expense in procuring forage in their former quarters.

The impossibility of obtaining intelligence from the enemy by any other means than giving persons some

plausible pretext for entering their lines, has laid us under the necessity of allowing particular people to carry in small matters of produce, and to bring out goods in return. That they abuse this indulgence is too true; but when we consider the risk they run, and that the persons who are willing to undertake business of this kind are generally such as are influenced by interested motives, we must not wonder at their preferring their own emolument to the public good.

I am, dear sir, with great regard,
Your obedient and humble servant,
G° Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Morris Town,
February 20th, 1780.

Sir, — Your Excellency will have received, I make no doubt, a copy of an Act of Congress of the 9th instant, ascertaining the quotas of non-commissioned officers and privates to be furnished by the respective States for the ensuing campaign, and directing all the men in the additional corps, the Guards, Artillery, and Horse, and the regimented artificers in the department of the Quartermaster General and Commissary General of military stores, as well as those of the battalions in the State Lines, whose times of service do not expire before the last of September next, to be counted as part of the quotas of the States to which they respectively belong. The quota of the State of Connecticut is fixed at 3,238; and I have now the honor to enclose your Excellency a special return of the non-commissioned officers and privates in her eight battalions, and of those belonging to her in Lamb's Artillery, and Livingston's, Hazen's, Sherburne's, and Webb's regi-

ments, and Major Gibbs's corps of Guards, designating in a particular manner the proportion engaged for the war, and by monthly columns the periods when, and in what proportion, the services of the rest will expire. Your Excellency will observe by the Act, that the men whose engagements expire before the last of September, as I have already taken the liberty to mention, are not to be counted as part of the 3,238, and therefore, according to the return enclosed, the deficiency to be raised is 1,569. There are, however, one or two corps, besides those I have mentioned, not acting immediately with this part of the army, in which there may be some men belonging to the State, and I consider it as an unlucky circumstance that I have not such returns of them in my possession as will ascertain the point, and the credit to which the State may be entitled in consequence. Colonel Sheldon's is the principal corps under this description, and I have written both to him and Colonel Moylan to furnish your Excellency, without delay, with a particular state of the men in their regiments, which may belong to the State. I also expect returns of one or two corps in the course of a few days, when, if there should happen to be any men in them in which you are more particularly interested, I shall take the earliest occasion to communicate it and their number. I have thought it more advisable to transmit the present return than to delay it till those of every little detached corps could be collected; as the want of those, admitting there should be a few more in some of them belonging to the State, can make no material difference with respect to the deficiency to be levied, and as the postponing the business on that account would interfere essentially with the views of Congress, and indeed entirely defeat them, as to the time assigned for the recruits taking the field. At any rate, this must be found too short for those of the more remote States, and especially where their Legislatures are to be convened.

I would observe before I conclude, that this return bears the fullest number of men, under every description, that the State can have in her eight battalions and the other corps which it comprehends and they would most probably be found, if an actual inspection could take place, to fall a good deal short of the complement, as there is always a material difference between an army on paper and its real efficient strength. A comparative view between the total of an army as borne upon every general return, and the column of the present fit for duty, and the absentees that can be satisfactorily accounted for, demonstrates this beyond question.

I have the honor to be,

With the highest esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Morris Town,
February 26th, 1780.

Sir, — Since I had the honor of addressing your Excellency on the 20th instant, it has been found that there was an error in the return then transmitted, with respect to the number of men belonging to the State, in the Artillery. Instead of four, there are seventy-seven in Lamb's battalion, seventy-six of which are for the war, and seven in Captain Walker's company for the same time.

I have the honor to be,

With the most perfect respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

LEBANON, March 10th, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I had the honor to receive your favor of the 20th ultimo enclosing a return of the troops now in service from this State, and marking the deficiencies which are to be made good for the ensuing campaign, on the 5th instant, previous to which the General Assembly of the State had stated their deficiency at eighteen hundred, and had passed an act for the recruiting that number of men immediately, offering them, in addition to all Continental encouragements, three hundred dollars bounty each man, and all those supplies and advantages which the State has heretofore allowed to her troops. The number provided for by this Act will not be lessened in consequence of your Excellency's letter, in the hope that eighteen hundred nominal number may produce us at least fifteen hundred effectives in some season, though not possibly at so early a day as the first of April, which is already at hand.

It is hoped that the army will be satisfied and pleased with the measures which the General Assembly have at length taken for the establishment and regulation of their pay, though sorry I am to say that in this instance there hath been too great delay.

I have likewise before me unanswered a letter from your Excellency of the 8th of January last. I have been at a loss what answer to give. Of meat, we have undoubtedly an ample plenty, but the changes of unessential modes and forms, as well as of the more important regulations, of the purchasing officers, are so reiterated and numerous, and the embarrassments for want of cash so perpetual and insurmountable, that we know not what to do. It would be a difficult task for Government to command individuals to incur the expense of fattening, unless at the same time they should place before them

the hope of some reasonable reward. For the State, is[1] treasury is exhausted to furnish in proper season the necessary sums for the recruiting service, and our credit is attacked with a new and insurmountable obstacle. The people who are the principals in fattening cattle for the army loudly complain that, having received no payment whatever for some time past for the stock which they have furnished the public, they find themselves now absolutely unable to purchase lean cattle to carry on their business, besides that the avails of the last sale will not at this day make good an equal number of lean. To this effect, a number of the principal people of this class presented a memorial to the Assembly a few days since, representing that unless the debts of the Commissary's department were in some way discharged, at least in part, it would be absolutely impossible for them to continue their supplies to the army; whereas were but the past debts paid, they would still go on for some time longer on credit; and this memorial, by the direction of the Assembly, I transmit by this conveyance to Congress, urging them to execute some plan for the discharge of Mr. Wadsworth's debts, or at least to put it in his power to make the experiment of a mode which was indeed promised him when last at Philadelphia, but which care has not been taken to fulfil. Of three millions which were then engaged to him, an order for only one has been obtained, and of the bills of exchange and loan certificates from whose sale even this sum was to have been raised, the bills only are sent on to the loan officer, and these too in bills of such large amount as few people can possibly purchase; Colonel Wadsworth having engaged a sufficient number either of creditors or gentlemen in trade to have taken off nearly the sum at once, who now upon the opening of spring and business, find it necessary to

[1] We print this line as it is clearly written, but the meaning is obscure; probably "is" should be "its." — Eds.

lay out their moneys in other modes, rather than hazard another month's delay. Indeed, my dear sir, our circumstances appear truly deplorable.

I can only say that whatever is in the power of this small State to effect for the salvation of the country will be executed with earnest pleasure.

I have the honor to be, with all esteem and respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
JONᵀᴴ TRUMBULL.

His Excellency General Washington.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Morris Town,
25th March, 1780.

Dear Sir, — I have to acknowledge two favors from your Excellency, both of the 10th of this month.

I flatter myself that the measures of the Assembly for recruiting the quota of troops, and bringing them into the field, will fully answer your Excellency's expectations. I am persuaded, that for such an essential purpose, nothing will be left undone.

That part of your Excellency's letter which relates to the obstructions that oppose both the raising and purchasing of cattle is very interesting. You are not unacquainted with our difficulties heretofore, to keep the army together, and at the same time preserve it from starving. We are still in the most dependent and precarious situation in this respect. I flatter myself, however, that the late system of finance adopted by Congress, by giving the old money a fixed value, and providing the exchequer with new, which is to have the same consideration as specie, will obviate those embarrassments and difficulties with which we have struggled. This and the measures recommended by Congress to furnish the army

with supplies, assisted by the exertions of the respective States, I trust will have a salutary operation, and give to our affairs in general a more agreeable countenance. I am happy in the opinion, that there is no system which has the public good for its object but will receive your utmost protection, and be forwarded by every means in your Excellency's power.

I have the honor to be,

With the greatest regard, dear sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

G.º Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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## *WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

(Circular.)

Headquarters, Morris Town,
March 26th, 1780.

Sir, — Your Excellency will have received, I presume, before this, a transcript of an Act of Congress of the 25th of last month, calling on the several States for specific quantities of provision, rum, and forage for the army, and directing the articles of supplies to be collected and deposited at such places, in each of the States, as should be judged most convenient by me. In the case of a defensive war like ours, which depends almost wholly on the movements and operations of the enemy, it is difficult, if not impracticable, to fix on places of deposit for stores, which may not be rendered improper by subsequent events; and all we can do upon such occasions is to collect them where it shall appear from a comparative view of circumstances that they will be probably secure, and most likely to facilitate the purposes intended. I have considered the point with respect to the supplies required of your State, and I beg leave to inform your Excellency, that it appears to me they should be deposited at the

following places, and in the proportions set against each respectively, viz.: —

| | *Gallons of Rum.* | *Tons of Hay.* |
|---|---|---|
| Danbury . . . . . | 10,000 | 200 |
| Waterbury . . . . . | | 100 |
| Hartford . . . . . | 10,000 | 200 |
| New Fairfield . . . . | 48,558 | |
| | 68,558 | 500 |

As to the beef, the time and place of delivery, and the proportion from time to time, must be governed by the occasional requisitions of the Commissary General, which must also be the case with respect to the salt, and its ultimate place of deposit.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
G° WASHINGTON.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRIS TOWN,
4th April, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — Immediately upon the receipt of your Excellency's favor of the 22d ultimo, I desired Brigadier-General Huntington to send as many officers as could possibly be spared from the Connecticut Line, to take your instructions relative to the business of recruiting. The number, from our circumstances at this time, will fall infinitely short of your Excellency's requisition, but you may be assured that every expedient has been fallen upon to make it as large as possible.

Not having seen a copy of your late law, I have not been able to inform the officers going upon the recruiting service, to what emoluments they will be entitled, to compensate them for their trouble and necessary and unavoidable expenses. The travelling charges only of a subaltern officer to and from Connecticut, at this time,

will amount to nearly his year's pay. I make no doubt but the State will take the matter into consideration, and make a reasonable provision, if it has not been already done. I hope the endeavors of your State, and of every other in the Union, to complete their quotas of troops will be attended with the desired success, than which nothing will contribute more to put an end to the contest in which we are engaged, and which, from its weight, bears hard upon our abilities to continue it.

I am, with very sincere respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

His Excellency Governor Trumbull. G° Washington.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Morris Town,
27th April, 1780.

Dear Sir, — I am informed by Lieutenant-Colonel Stevens, at present the commanding officer of Colonel Lamb's regiment of Artillery, that there are four companies in that regiment which were raised in Connecticut, and have been adopted and supplied by the State, for which reason he has desired liberty to send an officer from each company on the recruiting service, not doubting but they will be allowed the same privileges and bounties as are granted to those recruiting for the Line.

Not knowing what arrangements you may have made, I have directed the officers to apply to your Excellency before they enter upon the business, that they may not interfere with any regulations which may have been made for obtaining the deficiency of the quota of your State.

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant.[1]

Governor Trumbull.

[1] The signature of this letter appears to have been cut off. — Eds.

## * WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, MORRIS TOWN,
May 19th, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I have the honor to forward you, by express, two packets which have just been transmitted to my care by His Excellency the Minister and the Consul of France. According to the letters which accompanied those despatches, they will announce to your Excellency the very generous and affectionate resolution of His Most Christian Majesty to send a land and naval armament to co-operate with us, and that their arrival may be very soon expected. I most sincerely congratulate your Excellency on this interesting event, which I hope, if we avail ourselves properly of it, as well as demonstrating his Majesty's wisdom and regard for us, will be attended with the most important and decisive advantages in our present struggle, and lead to the conclusion we so ardently wish, — the establishment of our Independence, and an honorable peace. The Minister and the Consul are very anxious that there should be provided a supply of fresh provisions and vegetables against the arrival of the fleet, which they seem to think will be at Rhode Island, in the first instance, and that arrangements should take place with respect to some other matters. From the importance of the subject, they entreat your Excellency's aid to put the business in an immediate and proper train; and influenced by the same opinion, and knowing from a happy experience your readiest disposition to promote the common cause wherever possible, I am confident that their requisition will meet, in every point, with your warmest and most strenuous support.

The accounts received from Charles Town on our part only come down to the 15th of April. The enemy's batteries had then been opened for some days, without any other effect than killing three privates and a woman and

child, and firing one or two houses. It has, however, been reported that they have received advices in New York to the 1st and some say the 3d instant, and that matters had not then undergone any material change. It is certain the York papers, to the 15th instant, are silent on Southern operations, which is conclusive with me that they had nothing important in their favor to that period with respect to them.

I have the honor to be,

With very sincere esteem and respect, dear sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

Gº. WASHINGTON.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Morris Town,
May 26th, 1780.

My dear Sir, — It is with infinite pain I inform you that we are reduced to a situation of extremity for want of meat. On several days of late the troops have been entirely destitute of any, and for a considerable time past they have been, at best, at a half, a quarter, an eighth allowance of this essential article of provision. The men have borne their distress with a firmness and patience never exceeded; and every possible praise is due the officers for encouraging them to it by precept, by exhortation, by example. But there are certain bounds beyond which it is impossible for human nature to go. We are arrived at those. The want of provision last night produced a mutiny in the army of a very alarming kind. Two regiments of the Connecticut Line got under arms, and but for the timely notice and exertions of their officers, it is most likely it would have been the case with the whole, with a determination to return home. After

a long expostulation by their officers, and some of the Pennsylvania Line who had come to their assistance, they were prevailed on to go into their huts. But this without relief can only be momentary. I will not dwell longer on this melancholy subject, being fully convinced that your Excellency will hasten to us every possible relief in your power.

I am, my dear sir,

With the warmest regard and respect,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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WASHINGTON TO COLONEL HENRY CHAMPION.

Headquarters, May 26th, 1780.

Dear Sir, — We are in a situation of extremity for want of meat; the troops on several days have been entirely destitute of any, and for a considerable time past they have been at but half, at quarter, at an eighth allowance of this essential article; this distress produced a mutiny last night in the Connecticut Line. I entreat your best and every exertion to give us relief.

I am, dear sir, with great regard,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

Colonel Henry Champion.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Morris Town,
1st June, 1780.

Dear Sir, — We have just received a hand-bill from New York, published by authority, containing an account of the surrender of Charlestown, the 12th instant, said to have come by the "Tris," which left that place the 17th.

The particulars are not given; some leading matters are mentioned, but they are probably either false or exaggerated. There are circumstances of suspicion attending this account, but as it is announced by authority, I cannot suppose it to be a forgery, but believe the general fact of a surrender to be true. The conditions may be more or less advantageous.

Advice is just come to me from Amboy, that the day before yesterday one hundred sail of vessels entered Sandy Hook. This, if true, and there is no reason to doubt it, can be nothing else than Sir Henry Clinton returned from the southward, with the whole or a part of his army. Flushed with his success there, and tempted by the present posture of our affairs, it will be extraordinary if he does not immediately aim a blow at West Point. If he does, we have everything to apprehend, from the total want of provision in the garrison, which has been for some time on half allowance.

This is too serious a danger not to demand instant exertions to obviate it. We can send nothing but flour from this quarter. I am informed there are between two and three thousand barrels of salted meat in Connecticut, but the Quartermaster, for want of money, can do nothing towards its transportation. We must in this exigency look to the State, and request the interposition of its authority to furnish wagons, without a moment's loss of time; Mr. Hubbard, the Quartermaster at Hartford, will receive the wagons and forward the provision.

We shall endeavor to forward flour from hence, but we must, in like manner, have recourse to the aid of Government, or impress by military power. I know your Excellency's wisdom and zeal too well not to be convinced you will give the matter the speediest and most effectual attention.

Indeed, my dear sir, our affairs are hastening rapidly to a crisis. The States must determine whether they will be

free, by a vigorous exertion of all their resources, or submit to the domination of Great Britain. My anxiety to hear in what manner they will take up the several important matters recommended to them in the late circular letter of the Committee of Congress, exceeds description.

I have the honor to be,

With perfect esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

P. S. It will be necessary still to forward supplies of live cattle, to preserve the stock of salt meat, which ought to be kept if possible for a deposit in case of a siege. This too will require your Excellency's aid.

It is essential towards the proposed co-operation that we should prepare a large number of fascines and gabions, and the most convenient places will be on Connecticut River, and adjacent to the Sound, particularly on Connecticut River. I entreat your Excellency to give pointed orders to the militia, to carry on this business with industry and despatch. The officers of militia will take their directions from Major Murnon, of the corps of engineers, who is now in Connecticut for this purpose. This is an object of real importance.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

(Circular.)

Connecticut. Headquarters, Morris Town, 2d June, 1780.

Sir, — By the letter from the Honorable the Committee of Congress at Morris Town, which goes with these despatches, you will find that these gentlemen and myself, after maturely considering the matter, deem it essential to the success of the measures in contemplation to be

carried on against the enemy, to call on the States for certain aids of militia, in addition to the requisitions for men already made, and that they should be at places of rendezvous appointed by me, by the 15th day of next month. The aid requested in this instance of your State is founded on a principle of apportionment common to all the States, from New Hampshire to Maryland inclusive (the others, on account of their distance and the operations in the Southern quarter, not now being called on), and is stated at *two thousand five hundred and twenty*, rank and file. This number, *well armed*, and equipped in every other respect for the field in the best manner circumstances will admit, under proper officers, I wish to be at Danbury at the time mentioned by the Committee, which appears to me a suitable place for their rendezvousing at in the first instance, and from whence they will proceed on my orders, as occasion may require. It will also be material, on account of disciplining and organizing the men, as well as on account of public economy, that they should be formed into full regiments. If this is not done, it will render our arrangements extremely difficult and irregular, and will add, by greatly increasing the number of officers, very considerably to the public expense. I would beg leave to observe, that I think the whole number of militia requested from you should be comprised in five regiments, about the same size, which would make them nearly equal to the establishment fixed for those of the Continental Line.

This additional aid will not, I trust and earnestly entreat, impede in the smallest degree the filling up the regiments of the State, by drafts, to their full complement, as requested by the Honorable the Committee in their letters of the 25th ultimo. This is a point of such great importance, so absolutely essential to give the least prospect of success to our operations, and indeed on which they depend, that I could not forbear mentioning it. If

the regiments are completed by drafts, it is possible our demands for militia may be a good deal diminished; but this must be governed by events, and therefore, for objects so very interesting, so important as those to which we look, we should provide whatever may be possibly requisite.

I have the honor to be,

With the greatest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

G°. WASHINGTON.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Springfield,
June 10th, 1780.

Sir, — I have the honor to introduce to you Monsieur De Corny,[1] Commissary of War, in the service of His Most Christian Majesty. This gentleman is charged with the important trust of procuring the necessary supplies of every sort for the French army, on which business he is now proceeding to the Eastern States. I have given him this letter for your Excellency, to request you will afford him all the assistance in your power, towards accomplishing the objects of his mission in their fullest extent. I have assured him that you will be happy in the opportunity of facilitating his operations in every way that may contribute to the success of the combined operations. Gratitude for so generous a succor, and the interest of these States, unite in requiring this of us. Your Excellency's known wisdom and zeal make it unnecessary to suggest motives.

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[1] Louis Dominique Ethis De Corny, a French writer better known as D'Ethis. Born 1738, died 1790.

I take the liberty to recommend Monsieur De Corny to your Excellency's particular attention. His personal merit and zeal in the common cause entitle him to every mark of consideration.

I have the honor to be,

With perfect respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, SPRINGFIELD,
11th June, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I am honored with your Excellency's favor of the 6th, conveying the very agreeable intelligence that a quantity of salted provision is on the way to West Point. It gives me much pleasure to hear that vigorous measures are pursuing, by your State, to draw forth its resources of men and supplies, and I am not without hope that the same good disposition will pervade the whole. I am persuaded that the zeal which you have manifested upon every former occasion will, if possible, be increased upon this. The generous interposition of our ally calls for every exertion upon our part; and if we do not strenuously embrace the favorable opportunity which now presents itself, we shall perhaps set down with the melancholy reflection that we lost the prize for which we long nobly and virtuously contended, by a want only of a proper use and direction of the means which we have within our power, at the last and critical moment.

The loss of Charlestown seems now reduced to a certainty. It will no doubt give spirit to our enemies, and have a temporary effect upon our affairs. But if extensively considered and rightly improved, it may be attended in the end by happy consequences. The enemy,

by attempting to hold conquests so remote, must dissipate their force, and of course afford opportunities of striking one or the other extremity.

General Knyphausen, with the greater part of the force left with him, made a landing at Elizabeth Town, last Wednesday morning, and advanced within a mile of this place. He was warmly opposed in his progress by General Maxwell's brigade, and the few Jersey militia, who assembled on the instant. He returned the same evening to Elizabeth Town Point, and, by throwing over his wagons and part of his Artillery and Cavalry to Staten Island, seemed determined to return to his former positions in New York and its dependencies. He however, on Friday, brought back some Artillery and Horse, and still remains in force upon the Point. The meaning of this manœuvre yet remains a secret. He either wants to draw us to an unequal engagement with inferior numbers (as to Continental troops), or to amuse us here, while perhaps part of the troops is to be drawn from the southward, and to operate suddenly against the posts upon the North River, which are in so defenceless a state, on account of the expiration of the services of the men who were allotted to garrison them, that I am very apprehensive for the consequences, should such an attempt be in contemplation. This is an additional motive to my wish to have those posts well supplied with provisions. We might then, upon an emergency, call in a body of neighboring militia to the reinforcement of the garrison.

The enemy, who are undoubtedly well informed of our circumstances, are now taking advantage of the reduced state of the Continental army. We have been compelled to behold them ravaging a fine country below the mountain, with a force, in fact inconsiderable, but still such as we should not have been justified in meeting; and to this indignity we must, as often as they please, submit,

till we receive the quotas of men required from the respective States.

I most sincerely condole with your Excellency on the late severe stroke which you have met with in your family. Although calamities of this kind are what we should all be prepared to expect, yet few, upon their arrival, are able to bear them with a becoming fortitude. Your determination, however, to seek assistance from the Great Disposer of all human events is highly laudable, and is the source from whence the truest consolation is to be drawn.

I am, with the greatest affection, respect, and esteem,

Dear sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

GOVERNOR TRUMBULL. G° WASHINGTON.

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WASHINGTON TO COMMITTEE OF CO-OPERATION.[1]

HEADQUARTERS, SPRINGFIELD,
June 11th, 1780.

GENTLEMEN, — It appears to me to be a very eligible step, at the present juncture, to reiterate our instances with the several States, to engage them to press the measures recommended in your former letter. Not only the time is sliding away very fast, every moment of which ought to be improved for the intended co-operation, but the movements of the enemy demand every exertion in our power for the purposes of defence.

There can now remain no doubt that Charlestown and its garrison have fallen. There is every reason to believe that Sir Henry Clinton, with the whole or the greatest part of his force, will shortly arrive at New York. The expectation of the French fleet and army will certainly determine the enemy to unite their force. General Knyphausen still continues in the Jerseys with all the

[1] Philip Schuyler, John Mathews, and Nathaniel Peabody, a committee from Congress.

force which can be spared from New York; a force greatly superior to ours. Should Sir Henry join him the superiority will be decided, and equal to almost anything the enemy may think proper to attempt. It is true, they are at this time inactive, but their continuance where they are proves that they have some project of importance in contemplation. Perhaps they are only waiting till the militia grow tired and return home (which they are doing every hour), to prosecute their designs with less opposition. This would be a critical moment for us. Perhaps they are waiting the arrival of Sir Henry Clinton, either to push up the North River, against the Highland posts, or to bend their whole force against this army. In either case the most disastrous consequences are to be apprehended. You who are well acquainted with our situation need no arguments to evince the danger. The militia of this State have run to arms, and behaved with an ardor and spirit of which there are few examples. But perseverance in enduring the rigors of military service is not to be expected from those who are not by profession obliged to it. The reverse of this opinion has been a great misfortune in our affairs, and it is high time we should recover from an error of so pernicious a nature. We must absolutely have a force of a different composition, or we must relinquish the contest. In a few days we may expect to have to depend almost wholly on our Continental force, and this (from your own observation) is totally inadequate to our safety. The exigency calls loudly upon the States to carry all the recommendations of the Committee into the most vigorous and immediate execution, but more particularly that of completing our battalions by a draft, and with all the expedition possible.

I beg leave to advise that these ideas be all clearly held up to the States. Whatever inconvenience there may be in diffusing the knowledge of our circumstances,

delicate as they are, there is, in my opinion, more danger in concealing than disclosing them.

I have the honor to be,

With perfect respect, and esteem, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient, and humble servant,

Gº Washington.

Committee of Congress for Co-operation.

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WASHINGTON TO COMMITTEE OF CO-OPERATION.

Headquarters, Springfield,
June 12th, 1780.

Gentlemen, — I have received information, which though not official I deem authentic, that some of the States have taken up the measure of augmenting their battalions by a draft, on a less extensive footing than was urged in your circular letter of the 25th May. Though I wish to pay in every instance implicit deference to the determination of the respective States, I think it my duty, in the present crisis, once more to declare with freedom, that I conceive the measure of filling our battalions to their full complement fundamental to a co-operation on a large scale; that anything short of this will infallibly compel us to confine ourselves to a more defensive plan, except as to some little partial indecisive enterprises against remote points; and will of course disappoint the expectations of our allies and protract the war. The force which has been stated as necessary, is as small as can give us any prospect of a decisive effort. If it is not furnished we must renounce every hope of this kind. It remains with the States to realize the consequences.

I have the honor to be,

With the greatest respect and esteem,

Gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

The Committee of Co-operation. Gº Washington.

## * WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, SPRINGFIELD,
June 14th, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I was yesterday honored with your Excellency's letter of the 8th, inclosing a copy of one to Congress. There is nothing I am so happy in as in complying with every request you make, and motives of public utility would induce me to take any step which I conceived I could do with propriety to forward measures which in any manner affect the supplies of the army. But in the present case the affair appears to me to stand upon a delicate footing, and to relate to arrangements of such a nature as I have always cautiously avoided interfering in. I trust my scruples to your Excellency's delicacy; and I have no doubt, on reconsideration, you will approve my declining to write to Congress on the subject in question.

I thank your Excellency for the exertions you are making to give relief to our distresses. Every new circumstance proves more and more the necessity of exertion in the present crisis, and evinces how much we have to fear if a spirit of energy does not immediately and generally pervade the States.

The enemy still continue in the position they took at Elizabeth Town Point, and are in all probability waiting the arrival of Sir Henry Clinton, to commence a vigorous operation somewhere. Our situation is as embarrassing as you can imagine. When they unite their force it will be infinitely more so. Time must unfold the result.

I have the honor to be,
With every sentiment of the truest esteem and respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

Gº. WASHINGTON.

### * WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, SPRINGFIELD,
June 18th, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I have just received authentic advice that a large fleet appeared off Sandy Hook yesterday afternoon, and entered as fast as they came up. From every circumstance this can be no other than Sir Henry Clinton. If the enemy push directly up the North River, much is to be apprehended for West Point. It requires all our exertions to put it in a state of defence. I some days since directed General Howe to apply to your Excellency for the State regiments to reinforce the garrison. I now entreat you to hasten them forward with all possible expedition, together with the drafts for the Continental battalions, which I am informed the State had determined to make. They will proceed to West Point till further orders. Every effort to keep up a full supply of provisions is indispensable. I would also recommend that your Excellency should put two or three thousand militia under marching orders to repair to West Point, on the application of Major-General Howe, in case of a sudden emergency.

I have the honor to be,
With every sentiment of respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,
G° WASHINGTON.

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### WASHINGTON TO COMMITTEE OF CO-OPERATION.

HEADQUARTERS, SPRINGFIELD,
June 20th, 1780.

GENTLEMEN, — Agreeable to your recommendation I have thought proper to send Brigadier-General Parsons, to the State of Connecticut. My orders to him will relate to the collecting, arranging, and forwarding the drafts and recruits from that State to the army. The Committee will give him what further instructions they

think proper, which he will execute with judgment and zeal. It will be useful to inform him of the requisitions they have made to the State, as his influence there may enable him to contribute to their success.

I have the honor to be,

With perfect respect and esteem,

Gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

The Honorable the Committee of Co-operation.

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## * WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Springfield,
June 20th, 1780.

Dear Sir, — I have thought proper to send Brigadier-General Parsons to your State, to receive, arrange, and forward to the army the drafts and recruits which may be furnished for the Continental battalions in consequence of the late requisitions of the Committee of Congress. Your Excellency will be pleased to give him such information and advice as will be requisite for his government.

So important is the present crisis that I can omit no occasion of urging the necessity of the greatest vigor and decision in our public measures; the filling our battalions above all, to their full complement, without a moment's delay, is perhaps a point on which the fate of America is suspended. With proper exertion we may have everything to animate our hopes, on one side, and with an imperfect exertion we have everything to dread, on the other. I anxiously and ardently hope this idea may govern all those who have influence in our public affairs. I know your Excellency too well, and esteem you too highly to doubt your best endeavors.

With perfect respect, I have the honor to be,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

His Excellency Governor Trumbull. G° Washington.

WASHINGTON TO COMMITTEE OF CO-OPERATION.

HEADQUARTERS, ROCKAWAY,
23d June, 1780.

GENTLEMEN, — The enemy are now in full force, bending their march towards Morristown, and by my last advices, had advanced beyond Springfield. They were vigorously opposed by our advanced corps. But what could the valor of a handful do against so infinite a superiority of numbers? The enemy can effect any particular object they may attempt. Besides the army, they can have no other in this State than our stores; as we cannot defend them, we must endeavor to remove them.

I am so entirely engaged in attention to our military operations, that I must entreat you to write to the Executives of Pennsylvania and Jersey, pressing them to bring out all the wagons they can to our relief. An application has been already made to Pennsylvania for two hundred and fifty wagons; these ought to be instantly furnished.

But we do not know what may be the ultimate designs of the enemy; all we know is, that they are very strong, and that we are very weak. I beg leave to recommend that the States may be again called upon to redouble their exertions to comply with the demands that have been already made upon them. It is essential to our immediate safety, to say nothing of the expected co-operation. If she means to be free, this is the moment for America to exert herself.

With every sentiment of esteem,
I have the honor to be, gentlemen,
Your most obedient and humble servant,
G°. WASHINGTON.

HONORABLE COMMITTEE OF CO-OPERATION.

### * WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.[1]

HEADQUARTERS, RAMAPAUGH,
June 27th, 1780.

DEAR SIR,—By a letter from your Excellency to Major General Howe, which he communicated to me, it appeared that you were ordering a body of two thousand militia to his assistance. This measure at the time was a very eligible one; but as, by the removal of our stores most exposed, we have had it in our power to detach a reinforcement of Continental troops to West Point, and to remove the rest of the army to this place, I consider that important post as now in a state of sufficient security to enable us to dispense with the immediate services of the militia. The calling them forth will be peculiarly inconvenient at this time, both because it will impede our preparations and injure agriculture. The completing the Continental battalions by an instant draft, to their full establishment, is the pivot on which the intended co-operation *absolutely* turns. Without this we can undertake nothing offensive; for which reason I am willing to submit to all the embarrassments arising from the present weakness of the army, rather than retard that essential measure by employing the militia. I therefore advise that the body of militia (now probably on the march) may return home and only be held in readiness. The enemy continue to menace us.

I can omit no occasion of repeating my earnest entreaties to your Excellency to use all your influence to forward the measures recommended by the Committee of Co-operation. I assure you with the greatest sincerity and truth that nothing short of them will answer our purpose, and that I am fully persuaded, from a general view of European and American affairs, the fate of our cause depends on the exertions of this campaign. The

[1] A portion of this letter is printed in Sparks's Writings of Washington, vii. 93.

sparing system has been too long tried, till it has brought us to a crisis little less than desperate, and if the opportunity now before us be neglected, I believe it will be too late to retrieve our affairs. These are ideas that I may safely trust to your judgment, though I know they would be slighted by those indolent and narrow politicians who, except at the moment of some signal misfortune, are continually crying, — All is well! — and who, to save a little present expense and avoid some temporary inconvenience (with no ill designs in the main), would protract the war and risk the perdition of our liberties. As I always speak to your Excellency in the confidence of friendship, I shall not scruple to confess that the prevailing politics, for a considerable time past, have filled me with inexpressible anxiety and apprehension, and have uniformly appeared to me to threaten the subversion of our independence. I hope a period to them is now arrived, and that a change of measures will save us from ruin.

I beg your Excellency to accept my warmest acknowledgments for your exertions in support of West Point.

With perfect respect and esteem,
I have the honor to be,
Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,
G° Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

(Circular.)

Headquarters, Ramapaugh,
June 30th, 1780.

Sir, — As the levies required of the States for filling their battalions have not yet joined the army, or the French fleet arrived, I beg leave to inform your Excellency that it will be unnecessary for the militia, which the Honorable the Committee of Congress were pleased to

call for on a late occasion, to be at the place appointed for their rendezvous, before the 25th of next month. By this time I would willingly hope that things will be in such a train, as to enable us to commence our operations, and to make their aid essential. The present crisis is by far the most important and delicate that this country has ever experienced, and it pains me in the extreme that we are so backward in all our measures. I hope a moment will not be lost in pushing on the levies to fill the battalions. Our allies would be chagrined, were they to arrive to-day, to find that we have but a handful of men in the field, and would doubt, it is more than probable, whether we had any serious intentions to prosecute measures with vigor. If we do not avail ourselves of their succor by the most decisive and energetic steps on our part, the aid they so generously bring may prove our ruin; and at best it will be in such case among the most unfortunate events, next to that of absolute ruin, that could have befallen us. I think it my duty, as often as I have the honor of addressing the States, to forewarn them that the completion of their battalions to their full establishment of five hundred and four, rank and file, is a measure of indispensable necessity to the intended co-operation, and that without it we cannot even attempt anything decisive.

I have the honor to be,

With the greatest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

G$^{o}$. WASHINGTON.

P. S. As my request to delay the assembling of the militia at the place appointed for their rendezvous, proceeds principally from the French fleets not being arrived, I beg leave to observe, if this event should have taken place when this reaches your Excellency, or it happens soon after, my request is not to have an operation; but

in such case it is my desire that the assembling of the militia should be hastened as much as possible.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Colonel Dey's, Bergen County,
3d July, 1780.

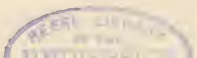
Dear Sir, — I have been informed that the State of Connecticut have in possession a very considerable quantity of saltpetre, which they are unable to manufacture into gunpowder, for want of sulphur. The Continent, on the contrary, have a quantity of sulphur at Springfield, which lies idle for want of the other necessary ingredients. I have therefore to propose to your Excellency that the sulphur, or as much as may be necessary, shall be delivered over to the State, to be manufactured into powder for the use of the Continent, the public making compensation for the same.

When we come to make the estimate of ammunition necessary for the probable expenditure of our expected co-operation, we find a most alarming deficiency in the public magazines, and it therefore behooves us to fall upon every expedient to raise an adequate supply, and no one seems to present a fairer or readier prospect than the plan I have just mentioned. If the measure meets your Excellency's approbation, I shall be glad to be informed of the quantity of public saltpetre in the State, and how much powder can be manufactured in a week, or in any given time. You will also oblige me exceedingly by informing me whether the State have any, and how much powder, and whether they could spare it to the Continent upon an emergency.

I have the honor to be, with very great esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

His Excellency Governor Trumbull. G° Washington.



### * WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, NEAR PASSAIC FALLS,
July 7th, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I am informed there are two regiments of State troops, amounting to six hundred men, posted at Stanford, under the command of Colonel Welles, to which place Major Murnan has been sent, for the purpose of cutting fascines, and will stand in need of every assistance which can be afforded him. If your Excellency will give directions that such of these troops, and of the militia, which may be occasionally there, and can possibly be spared from other duty, should be employed in making these preparations, it will be a very acceptable and important service.

Should Major Murnan have made application personally to your Excellency, I doubt not the necessary orders are already given. If he has not, the pressing nature of the service is such, that I flatter myself there will be no delay in giving such instructions to the commanding officer as will effectually promote the public interest in this respect.

I have the honor to be,
With great respect and esteem,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
G°. WASHINGTON.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

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### WASHINGTON TO PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.[1]

HEADQUARTERS, BERGEN COUNTY,
10th July, 1780.

SIR, — I have with great pleasure seen the very laudable association of the merchants of Philadelphia, for procuring a quantity of provisions and rum for the army. I

[1] Samuel Huntington of Connecticut.

am well persuaded that the same spirit exists in those of the other considerable trading towns, who perhaps only want being made acquainted with the distresses of the army, in articles almost as essential as those of provision, to produce similar associations for the purpose of providing such matters as may be recommended to them.

We are so scantily supplied with marquees, and tents, and have so little prospect of procuring a sufficient number by the common means, that some gentlemen have suggested the propriety and expediency of an address to the merchants, from New London to Portsmouth inclusive, requesting their assistance at this critical time, and giving them the same assurances of reimbursement which have been given to the merchants of Philadelphia. By the estimates of the Quartermaster-General, a sum not exceeding forty thousand pounds lawful money, would make a sufficient provision of marquees, tents, knapsacks, and some other articles in that way; and should the mode I have hinted be thought advisable, he would furnish the proportions which each town should, in his opinion, be requested to provide. Some private letters have, I believe, been written to the principal trading gentlemen to the eastward on this subject, which may perhaps produce an offer on their parts; but I am so exceedingly anxious on account of the backward state of our preparations of every kind, that I cannot help recommending an application to them, notwithstanding, by Congress collectively, or through their own delegates, as may be judged most proper.

I observe that by the present regulations of the Bank of Philadelphia, the funds are to be applied solely to the purchases of rum and provision. But if an application of part of them could be diverted to the purchase of tents, (the materials for making which I am told are plenty in Philadelphia), it would add to our stock in a very little time. The Committee of Co-operation have already

recommended this deviation, and I beg leave to express my concurrence with them.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,
Gº. WASHINGTON.

His Excellency the President of Congress.

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## * WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, near Passaick Falls,
July 11th, 1780.

Dear Sir, — I beg leave to suggest to your Excellency that it is a matter of great importance for me to be acquainted with our several harbors, their depth of water within and leading to them, and all the difficulties and circumstances attending their navigation. At present this knowledge is more peculiarly essential with respect to the eastern ports, and particularly in the instance of New London. In the course of our operations this campaign, and indeed immediately, this may be of the greatest use. I have therefore to entreat the favor of your Excellency to furnish me by the earliest opportunity with a correct map of that harbor, in case you have one, describing in a particular manner the channel leading to it from the Sound, with its depth, and width, and such obstacles and shoals as may attend the navigation. If your Excellency should not be in possession of a map that will answer, I request that you will be so obliging as to procure me one as soon as it can be done, and, if it should be requisite, even by an actual survey and sounding. I feel myself under no difficulty in asking this favor of your Excellency, as you will perceive at once the necessity there is for my possessing the information, and as I know there is nothing in your power which will not be

done with the greatest cheerfulness that may in the least promote the public cause.

I have the honor to be,
With the most perfect esteem and regard,
Dear sir, your most obedient servant,
G° Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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WASHINGTON TO COMMITTEE OF CO-OPERATION.

Headquarters, 13th July, 1780.

Gentlemen, — We have received intelligence through different channels from New York, that the "Guadeloupe" had arrived there on Sunday morning, and brought an account that she had fallen in with a large French fleet, consisting of several sail of the line, and a number of transports, between the capes of Virginia and Delaware. This intelligence has every appearance of authenticity, and if true, the arrival of the fleet on the coast may be immediately looked for. This, indeed, must be the case at any rate from the time they are said to have sailed.

It cannot be too much lamented that our preparations are still so greatly behindhand. Not a thousand men that I have heard of, have yet joined the army, and in all probability the period for commencing our operations is at hand. I am happy to learn that a spirit of animation has diffused itself throughout the States, from which we may expect the happiest consequences. But the exigency is so pressing, that we ought to multiply our efforts to give new activity and dispatch to our measures, levying and forwarding the men, providing the supplies of every sort required; forage and transportation demand particular attention. After what had been preconcerted with the Honorable the Congress, after two months previous notice of the intended succor, if our allies find us

unprepared, and are obliged to wait several weeks in a state of inaction, it is easy to conceive how unfavorable the impression it will make of our conduct. Besides this, the season is exceedingly advanced. A decisive enterprise, if our means are equal to it, will not permit us to lose a moment of the time left for military operations, which, if improved with all the vigor in our power, is less than were to be wished for an undertaking of so arduous and important a nature.

So much is at stake, so much to be hoped, so much to be lost, that we shall be inexcusable if we do not employ all our zeal and all our exertion.

With the highest respect,

G° Washington.

Committee for Co-operation.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, 14th July, 1780.

Dear Sir, — There is expected a quantity of clothing, arms, and ammunition, in the French fleet for the United States, which I have requested might be forwarded to New London, under convoy of a frigate or two. I shall send Mr. Olney to receive it, and expedite it to the army. But as the Quartermaster-General has no means in his power which could procure a sufficient number of wagons or teams in time, I beg leave to request your Excellency to interpose your authority to furnish them. We cannot commence our operations before we receive these articles, and with all the exertion that can be made, they will scarcely arrive in proper time so as not to delay us considerably. I therefore request your Excellency will have the goodness to give the matter a particular attention, that it may be conducted with all the dispatch the nature of the case will admit. I presume your Excellency will

think an impress necessary to obtain the wagons or teams with the expedition the exigency requires, and will give your orders accordingly. The succor of our generous ally being now arrived, I doubt not will give a new spring to our operations. Relying upon the zeal of the States, I shall hazard arrangements with the officer commanding his Most Christian Majesty's troops for commencing our operations at a very early period.

A regard to our national character obliges me to it, and I hope the same motive will stimulate the States, to exert their utmost activity to comply with those engagements which circumstances compel me to enter into in their behalf. The success of our measures not less than our honor demand it.

With every sentiment of respect and attachment,

I have the honor to be, your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant,

G° Washington.

P. S. Mr. Olney goes directly to New London, where I shall be happy the person your Excellency shall authorize to impress the wagons may meet him.

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## WASHINGTON TO GEORGE OLNEY.

Headquarters, Bergen County,
18th July, 1780.

Sir, — There is a considerable quantity of linen overalls at Springfield, for which the troops are exceedingly distressed, and which the Clothier has not been able to forward for want of transportation; you will be pleased to turn your attention to them, as well as to the articles brought over in the fleet. There may be a few shirts, shoes, stockings, and other things fit for summer wear; if

there are, you will have them also sent forward, in the first instance, to the Deputy-Clothier at New Windsor.

I am, sir, yours etc.

G° Washington.

George Olney, Esq.

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## WASHINGTON TO COLONEL ELISHA SHELDON.

Headquarters, Bergen County,
20th July, 1780.

Sir, — I have received yours of the 19th. General Parsons had written to me before on the subject of the men drafted from the militia Light Horse, and I informed him that I could not consent to their joining your regiment or any other corps of Horse. All the levies are wanted for the battalions of Infantry, and if there has been any misunderstanding between those men and the States, as to the mode of service, they must settle it themselves. But I cannot conceive that it ever was in contemplation that they should serve on horseback, as the law calls only for Foot; you must let them know that they must either join the Infantry, or procure others in their places.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G°. Washington.

Colonel Sheldon.

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## * WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Bergen County,
22d July, 1780.

Dear Sir, — Unfortunately for us, the "Alliance" frigate, to which the arms and powder we expected were committed, is not arrived. The disappointment will frustrate our prospects, unless we can obtain aid from the particular States, few of which, however, have it in their power to afford us any. All the arms we can muster in the

public possession for our recruits do not exceed six thousand, whereas double the number will be wanted. I am therefore compelled to request of the State of Connecticut a loan of two thousand arms, and if they have any cartouche boxes, as many as they can spare. It is essential that whatever of these articles can be furnished, should be forwarded without delay to Fishkill, and delivered to the Commissary of Military stores there. I must also entreat your Excellency to have this effected, as the officers in the service of the Continent are without means of transportation. The time presses so much that not a moment is to be lost.

I again beg leave to repeat my entreaties that the measures in execution may not be suffered to relax, but may be pushed on with increased activity and exertion. The time, my dear sir, is precious beyond description; none but those thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the objects in view can form a just idea of it.

I requested your Excellency in a former letter to assist with the means of forwarding the clothing which came for us in the French fleet. I repeat my request. We want to be equipped and ready to commence our operations as soon as possible, and the credit of the troops makes it of real importance to have them clad before we appear by the side of our allies.

I have the honor to be,

With the sincerest respect and attachment,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

G°. Washington.

P. S. I am anxious to know as soon as possible what may be expected in the articles of arms and powder.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

## * WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, BERGEN COUNTY,
July 27th, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I have the honor of your Excellency's favors of the 18th and 19th instants. Colonel Wadsworth has forwarded the map of New London, which you were so kind as to furnish. It answers the purpose for which I principally wanted it, which was to show the draft of water leading into the harbor. I very much fear that we shall be obliged to transport our clothing from France the whole way from Rhode Island by land, as it is much wanted, and as there will be no prospect of doing it by water, while the British fleet maintains a superiority off the harbor of New Port. I have written to Mr. Olney to this effect, and must request your Excellency's aid and assistance to him in transporting it through your State, should he find himself under the necessity of asking it. You may be assured that the troops of Connecticut shall have their full proportion of the clothing imported on Continental account.

Should the navigation be secure, I make not the least doubt but the Count De Rochambeau will prefer a water transportation for a certain distance to a march by land. But should circumstances or his own inclinations make the latter necessary, I should hope that every exertion would be made to accommodate him in every respect.

It would certainly be a very desirable thing to remove the cattle from the east end of Long Island, but, in the present situation of matters, it cannot be attempted.

I have the honor to be,

With the highest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant.

Gº. WASHINGTON.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

### WASHINGTON TO NEHEMIAH HUBBARD.

*For Nehem Hubbard Esq., Deputy Quartermaster-General.*

Sir, — The exigency of the present juncture requiring a large supply of boards, planks, and scantling, which cannot be procured in the ordinary way, you are hereby directed and empowered to impress all of those articles you can find in the State of Connecticut, according to the orders you shall receive from the Quartermaster-General, and wagons to transport them, for which this shall be your warrant. G°. Washington.

Given at Robinson's Farms, State of New York, July 31st, 1780.

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### * WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, near Orange Town,
8th August, 1780.

Dear Sir, — I am honored with your Excellency's favor of the 4th instant. I am sorry that any disputes and differences should have happened between Major Murnan and the inhabitants, and militia. As it is difficult to reconcile matters after they have been carried to such a height as appears by Captain Green's deposition, I have thought it best to recall Major Murnan. You will be pleased to forward the inclosed to him, which is for that purpose.

Your Excellency will, I presume, before the receipt of this, have heard that General Clinton, with the fleet and troops which had been at Huntington, returned on the 31st ultimo to New York. Should the militia, in consequence of this, return to their former station on Connecticut River, you will be pleased to direct them to proceed in making fascines and gabions.

I have the honor to be,

With the highest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

Governor Trumbull. G°. Washington.

## WASHINGTON TO COMMITTEE OF CO-OPERATION.

HEADQUARTERS, ORANGE TOWN,
17th August, 1780.

GENTLEMEN, — We are now arrived at the middle of August; if we are able to undertake anything in this quarter, this campaign, our operations must commence in less than a month from this, or it will be absolutely too late. It will then be much later than were to be wished, and with all the exertions that can be made, we shall probably be greatly straitened in time.

But I think it my duty to inform you, that our prospects of operating diminish in proportion as the effects of our applications to the respective States unfold, and I am sorry to add that we have every reason to apprehend we shall not be in a condition at all to undertake anything decisive.

The completion of our Continental battalions to their full establishment of 504 rank and file, has been uniformly and justly held up as the basis of offensive operations. How far we have fallen short of this, the following state of the levies received and of the present deficiencies will show.

By a return to the 16th instant we had received from

| | *Rank and file.* |
|---|---|
| New Hampshire | 457 |
| Massachusetts | 2898 |
| Rhode Island | 502 |
| Connecticut | 1356 |
| New York | 283 |
| New Jersey | 165 |
| Pennsylvania | 482 |
| | 6143 |

The deficiencies of the battalions, from a return of the 12th, allowing for the levies since arrived to the 16th, are of

| | *Battalions.* | *Rank and file.* |
|---|---|---|
| New Hampshire | 3 | 248 |
| Massachusetts, including Jackson's, adopted | 16 | 3514 |
| Rhode Island | 2 | 198 |
| Connecticut, including Webb's, adopted | 9 | 1866 |
| New York | 5 | 1234 |
| New Jersey | 3 | 569 |
| Pennsylvania | 11 | 2768 |
| In the whole | | 10,397 |

If the amount of these deficiencies, and the detached corps necessarily on the frontier and at particular posts, be deducted, and a proper allowance made for the ordinary casualties, and for the extra calls upon the army for wagoners, artificers, etc., it will be easy to conceive how inadequate our operating force must be to any capital enterprise against the enemy. It is indeed barely sufficient for defence.

Hitherto, all the militia for three months, that have taken the field under my orders, have been about

700 from New Hampshire,
1700 from Massachusetts,
800 from New York,
500 from New Jersey.

A part of the eastern militia has been detained to assist our allies at Rhode Island, and will shortly march to join the army. But from all the information I have, the number of militia will fall as far short of the demand as the Continental troops, and from the slow manner in which the latter have for some time past come in, I fear we have had nearly the whole we are to expect.

In the article of provisions, our prospects are equally unfavorable. We are now fed by a precarious supply from day to day. The Commissary, from what has been done in the several States, so far from giving assurances of a continuance of this supply, speaks in the most discouraging terms, as you will perceive by the inclosed copy

of a letter of the 15th instant, in which he proposes the sending back the Pennsylvania militia, who were to assemble at Trenton the 12th, on the principle of a failure of provisions.

As to forage and transportation, our prospects are still worse. These have lately been principally procured by military impress,—a mode too violent, unequal, oppressive, and consequently odious, to the people, to be long practised with success.

In this state of things, Gentlemen, I leave it to your own judgment to determine, how little it will be in my power to answer the public expectation, unless more competent means can be, and are without delay, put into my hands. From the communications of the General and Admiral of our allies, the second division, without some very unfortunate contrariety, will in all probability arrive before the time mentioned as the ultimate period for commencing our operations. I submit it to you whether it will not be advisable, immediately, to lay before the several States a view of our circumstances at the juncture, in consequence of which they may take their measures.

I have the honor to be,
With the greatest respect and esteem,
Gentlemen, your most obedient servant,
Gº. Washington.

N. B. The return of the Rhode Island recruits is of the last of July; more may have since joined.

There is a body of Connecticut State troops and militia employed in preparing fascines, etc., on the Sound.

Honorable Committee of Co-operation.

* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, ORANGE TOWN,
August 22d, 1780.

DEAR SIR,—I am again reduced to the painful necessity of informing your Excellency of the situation in which we are, with respect to provision of the meat kind, and of earnestly entreating every assistance in your power to give, for our relief.

The whole army has been already without meat one day, and a great part of it two. We have none now in camp, and no good prospect that I can find of receiving any within a reasonable time. The most we can hope for, from any resources within our own command, are sixty barrels of salt meat, on the way from West Point, which post is now almost entirely degarnished, and cannot have by the last return more than a hundred and twenty barrels, at most, in store.

Your Excellency from this state of matters will but too sensibly feel for our alarming situation, and the more so when you reflect we are in a country that did not afford much meat at any time, and that it has been exhausted by the armies on both sides, to the extreme distress of its inhabitants. Our condition at any period would be painful, and highly injurious to the public service: but to be in a starving situation at the commencement of the campaign, before our operations have even begun, is peculiarly so; must be discouraging in the extreme to our new levies, who now compose half our army; and must blast and put an end to all our prospects, if we are not relieved from it, though in every other respect events should arise bidding fair for success. I will not attempt to detail the consequences to which this would lead, nor the ideas and apprehensions it would excite in our allies and friends abroad, nor the confidence the enemy would derive from it. These will but too readily

occur to your Excellency, and I am sure you will believe with me that our friends would be greatly alarmed and embarrassed at least at the circumstance, while the cry of the enemy would be, — We will persevere in the war! America cannot maintain even a small army, — for our present one cannot be ranked under any other appellation; or, what will be equally encouraging to them, but more disgraceful to us, they will say — Their boasted patriotism is gone, or their wisdom and energy, for though their resources for war still remain, they will not bring them into action!

I am now arranging matters to make a forage on this impoverished people, having no other alternative left me, from which I could draw the least possible relief; and even from this, though it will ruin them, I expect to derive the most trifling succor. I rely on that goodness and promptitude I have ever found in your Excellency to promote the public service, and am persuaded you will exert all your influence to give us relief, on the present important and alarming occasion.

I have the honor to be,

With the most sincere respect and esteem,

Dear sir, your most obedient servant,

G°. Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

(Circular.)

Headquarters, near the Liberty Pole in Bergen County, 27th August, 1780.

Sir, — The Honorable the Committee of Co-operation having returned to Congress, I am under the disagreeable necessity of informing your Excellency that the army is again reduced to an extremity of distress for want of provisions. The greater part of it had been without meat

from the 21st to the 26th. To endeavor to obtain some relief, I moved down to this place with a view of stripping the lower parts of the county of its cattle, which, after a most rigorous exaction, is found to afford between two and three days' supply only, and those consisting of milch cows, and calves of one or two years old. When this scanty pittance is consumed, I know not what will be our next resource, as the Commissary can give me no certain information of more than 120 head of cattle expected from Pennsylvania, and about 150 from Massachusetts; I mean in time to supply our immediate wants.

Military coercion is no longer of any avail, as nothing further can possibly be collected from the country in which we are obliged to take a position, without depriving the inhabitants of the last morsel. This mode of subsisting, supposing the desired end could be answered by it, besides being in the highest degree distressing to individuals, is attended with ruin to the morals and discipline of the army; during the few days which we have been obliged to send out small parties to procure provisions for themselves, the most enormous excesses have been committed.

It has been no inconsiderable support of our cause, to have had it in our power to contrast the conduct of our army with that of the enemy, and to convince the inhabitants that, while their rights were wantonly violated by the British troops, by ours they were respected. This distinction must unhappily now cease, and we must assume the odious character of the plunderers, instead of the protectors of the people, the direct consequence of which must be to alienate their minds from the army, and insensibly from the cause.

We have not yet been absolutely without flour; but we have *this* day but *one* day's supply in camp, and I am not certain that there is a single barrel between this place and Trenton. I shall be obliged therefore to draw down

one or two hundred barrels from a small magazine which I had endeavored to establish at West Point, for the security of the garrison, in case of a sudden investiture.

From the above state of facts it may be foreseen that this army cannot possibly remain much longer together, unless very vigorous and immediate measures are taken by the States to comply with the requisitions made upon them. The Commissary-General has neither the means nor the power of procuring supplies. He is only to receive them from the several agents. Without a speedy change of circumstances, this dilemma must be involved, — either the army must disband, or what is, if possible, worse, subsist upon the plunder of the people.

I would fain flatter myself that a knowledge of our situation will produce the desired relief, — not a relief of a few days, as has generally heretofore been the case, but a supply equal to the establishment of magazines for the winter. If these are not formed before the roads are broken up by the weather, we shall certainly experience the same difficulties and distresses the ensuing winter which we did the last. Although the troops have, upon every occasion hitherto, borne their wants with unparalleled patience, it will be dangerous to trust too often to a repetition of the causes of discontent.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

G° Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, near the Liberty Pole, Bergen County, 28th August, 1780.

Dear Sir, — I was a few days ago honored with yours of the 9th; since the receipt of it I have seen Commissary Cheever, and have had an opportunity of making

particular inquiry into the state of the arms at Springfield. He tells me that the repair of such of the old muskets as are worth the trouble and expense, is going on as fast as the circumstances of want of hands and want of money will admit. The greater part of the gun-barrels, he says, are absolutely unfit for use, having been taken out of old stocks at different times, and not imported in their present state from Europe. I will direct General Knox to make inquiry after the 100 barrels of powder at Farmington, and if they belong to the Continent, to have them removed to one of the public magazines.

From the accounts brought by the "Alliance" frigate, I think the prospects of operating, at least during the time for which the militia were drawn out, are so very precarious, that, circumstanced as we are in regard to provision (as my circular letter of this date particularly points out), it will be more advisable to discharge them immediately than to keep them up. You will therefore be pleased to give order for the dismission of all those who were raised in consequence of the requisition of the Committee of Co-operation. I should hope that if such a reinforcement should unexpectedly arrive to our allies, as would enable us to carry on operations against the enemy, that the militia might be shortly reassembled. But I wish that this suspension of a part of our preparations may not have any influence upon procuring the number of men necessary to complete the Continental battalions. For want of them, I am still obliged, much against my inclination, to keep the militia of some of the States in the field; and this consideration should ever be kept in view, that should we operate, the fuller the Continental battalions the smaller will be the demand for militia.

I have the honor to be,

With very great respect and esteem,

Dear sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

His Excellency Governor Trumbull. G$^{o}$. Washington.

## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

LEBANON, 31st August, 1780.

SIR, — I have the honor to receive, enclosed in a circular letter from the Honorable Committee of Co-operation, a copy of your letter to them dated 17th instant. I am sorry to find the large deficiencies from the respective States, as expressed in that letter.

I think it my duty to inform your Excellency that measures have been, and still are, taking to furnish the men requested from this State, with the other requisites of provisions, teams, horses, etc.; that I believe the men will be soon collected to the army, not without some unavoidable, though I hope no great failures. The men to serve in the Continental army till the first of January, are daily going forward; the three-months men are also collecting. Of these latter, Hezekiah Wyllys, Esq., Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant, hath with him at New London, and on Norwich River, cutting and preparing fascines, gabions, etc., about 800; he is with me this day, informs that work is now going on well and will not be long in accomplishing, and his corps ready to join the army. The rest were ordered to Danbury. Lieutenant-Colonels Wells and Beebe, with their regiments, are at Horseneck, ready for your call. Hope when they are marched off, that place may be in greater safety than they have been for some time past. The appearance of anything decisive being undertaken, this State I think will supply men sufficient to fill all its deficiencies in that regard, by sending volunteers and independent companies to enter the service, agreeable to a proposition sent me by Brigadier-General Parsons.

On the score of provisions, good Providence hath afforded ample supplies. The regulations of Congress have put us into a condition, whereby the supply, especially of fresh beef, I fear, will come on to the army very

irregularly. We have been endeavoring a correspondence of the superintending commissaries of the New England States, that they may know and keep up a regular course of droves of cattle. This State, if I am not misinformed, is in advance beyond the rest, and the requisition made from it. I have heard there hath been a time lately when the army were destitute of cattle on hand, and at other times there may be more than is convenient. The droves ought to be under a direction which will bring them on regularly. This State have at New London four or five hundred barrels of best Irish mess beef, which, if requested, may be sent. It will be best to take an opportunity to send it into Connecticut River, to Middletown or Hartford, which will be a great saving in expense of carriage; which brings me to the Quartermaster's department, the new regulations of which, I fear, will bring on us fresh embarrassments. I should have thought former experience would have taught a useful lesson on the expediency of making such refined rules and changes in the season for an active campaign; however, this State will make the best of it, though my fears are many.

The great difficulties and perplexities you are laid under, when duly notified to the concerned, and not removed, must forever exculpate your Excellency from imputations of blame; it is my wish also to exculpate this State.

The affair of our currency is in a delicate situation; I see nothing to relieve but taxation and loans.

The enemy are endeavoring to sap the foundation of our credit, by draining us of our specie by clandestine trade, by sending out their emissaries with goods to sell for hard money only, and by the nefarious practice of sending counterfeit bills amongst us.

The Lord reigns is just matter for our rejoicing with thankfulness for mercies received, and in hope of those we still stand in need of, and a real belief thereof; a solid

foundation for our humble trust in him, for he is good, — a strong hold in the day of trouble; he knoweth them that trust in him.

I am, with every sentiment of esteem and consideration,
Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, BERGEN COUNTY,
5th September, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — I am honored by your Excellency's favor of the 31st ultimo, accompanied by a letter to the Committee of Co-operation, which I took the liberty of opening, as those gentlemen had been, some little time before, recalled by Congress. Our situation, in respect to meat, is, if possible, worse now than it was when I addressed my circular letter of the 27th ultimo. The country in the neighborhood is daily more and more exhausted, and our prospects of an immediate supply from a distance are far from being adequate to our wants. The whole army will be this day without meat, and some part of it has been several days on short allowance.

While I rejoice to hear that the country abounds in supplies, I cannot but be alarmed at finding your Excellency express a fear that they will come on irregularly to the army. I very much approve of the plan of establishing a correspondence between the superintending commissaries of the New England States, for want of which we are, no doubt, subjected to many inconveniences.

I will not undertake to say how the account of supplies furnished by the State of Connecticut stands upon a general scale; but, if I am not misinformed by the Commissary-General, she is very considerably deficient upon the

requisitions made by the Committee of Co-operation. He tells me he has received no cattle from Colonel Champion for five weeks past.

The four or five hundred barrels of salt beef which your Excellency mentions, will be a most valuable acquisition to the magazine at West Point, as we have been under the necessity of consuming the small quantity which I had wished to keep in reserve at that post, to secure it in case of a sudden investiture. You will therefore oblige me by forwarding it as expeditiously as possible to that place.

I have the honor to be,

With the highest respect and esteem, dear sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

Gº. Washington.

Governor Trumbull.

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## WASHINGTON TO COLONEL NEHEMIAH HUBBARD.

Headquarters, Bergen County,
13th September, 1780.

Sir, — I have made an appointment to meet the Count De Rochambeau, and the Chevalier De Ternay, who will be accompanied by the commanding officers of artillery, and engineers in the French army, at Hartford on the 20th instant. The Marquis De la Fayette, General Knox, and the commanding officer of the corps of engineers in our service, will accompany me. You will be pleased to provide the best quarters which the town affords, and make every necessary preparation of forage and other matters. I shall have an escort of twelve or fifteen dragoons, the French General will probably have a like number.

I am, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

Colonel Nehem Hubbard.

* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

(Circular.)

Headquarters, near Passaic,
October 18th, 1780.

Sir, — In obedience to the orders of Congress, I have the honor to transmit your Excellency the present state of the troops of your Line, by which you will perceive how few men you will have left after the 1st of January next. When I inform you also that the troops of the other Lines will be in general as much reduced as yours, you will be able to judge how exceedingly weak the army will be at that period, and how essential it is the States should make the most vigorous exertions to replace the discharged men as early as possible.

Congress are now preparing a plan for the new establishment of their army, which, when finished, they will transmit to the several States, with requisitions for their respective quotas. I have no doubt it will be a primary object with them to have the levies for the war; and this appears to me a point so interesting to our independence, that I cannot forbear entering into the motives which ought to determine the States without hesitation or alternative to take their measures decisively for that object.

I am religiously persuaded that the duration of the war, and the greatest part of the misfortunes and perplexities we have hitherto experienced, are chiefly to be attributed to the system of temporary enlistments. Had we in the commencement raised an army for the war, such as was within the reach of the abilities of the States to raise and maintain, we should not have suffered those military checks which have so frequently shaken our cause, nor should we have incurred such enormous expenditures as have destroyed our paper currency, and with it all public credit. A moderate, compact force, on a permanent establishment, capable of acquiring the discipline essential to military operations, would have been

able to make head against the enemy, without comparison better than the throngs of militia which have been at certain periods not in the field, but on their way to and from the field; for, from that want of perseverance which characterizes all militia, and of that coercion which cannot be exercised upon them, it has always been found impracticable to detain the greatest part of them in service even for the term for which they have been called out; and this has been commonly so short, that we have had, a great proportion of the time, two sets of men to feed and pay, one coming to the army, and the other going from it. From this circumstance, and from the extraordinary waste and consumption of provision, stores, camp equipage, arms, clothes, and every other article incident to irregular troops, it is easy to conceive what an immense increase of public expense has been produced from the source of which I am speaking. I might add the diminution of our agriculture, by calling off at critical seasons the laborers employed in it, as has happened in instances without number.

In the enumeration of articles wasted, — I mention clothes, — it may be objected that the terms of engagement of the levies do not include this article; but if we want service from the men, particularly in the cold season, we are obliged to supply them notwithstanding, and they leave us before the clothes are half worn out.

But there are evils still more striking that have befallen us. The intervals between the dismission of one army and the collection of another, have more than once threatened us with ruin, which humanly speaking nothing but the supineness and folly of the enemy could have saved us from. How did our cause totter at the close of 1776, when, with a little more than two thousand men, we were driven before the enemy through the Jerseys, and obliged to take post on the other side the Delaware, to make a show of covering Philadelphia, while in reality

nothing was more easy to them, with a little enterprise and industry, than to make their passage good to that city, and dissipate the remaining force which still kept alive our expiring opposition! What hindered them from dispersing our little army, and giving a fatal blow to our affairs during all the subsequent winter, instead of remaining in a state of torpid inactivity and permitting us to hover about their quarters, when we had scarcely troops sufficient to mount the ordinary guards? After having lost two battles, and Philadelphia in the following campaign, for want of those numbers and that degree of discipline which we might have acquired by a permanent force in the first instance, in what a cruel and perilous situation did we again find ourselves in the winter of 1777 at Valley Forge, within a day's march of the enemy, with a little more than a third of their strength, unable to defend our position, or retreat from it for want of the means of transportation? What but the fluctuation of our army enabled the enemy to detach so boldly to the southward in 1778 and 1779 to take possession of two States, Georgia, and South Carolina, while we were obliged here to be idle spectators of their weakness, set at defiance by a garrison of six thousand regular troops, accessible everywhere by a bridge which nature had formed, but of which we were unable to take advantage from still greater weakness, apprehensive even for our own safety? How did the same garrison insult the main army of these States the ensuing spring, and threatened the destruction of all our baggage and stores, saved by a good countenance more than by an ability to defend them!

And what will be our situation this winter, our army by the first of January diminished to little more than a sufficient garrison for West Point, the enemy at full liberty to ravage the country wherever they please, and, leaving a handful of men at New York, to undertake expeditions for the reduction of other States, which for

want of adequate means of defence, will, it is much to be dreaded, add to the number of their conquests, and to the examples of our want of energy and wisdom?

The loss of Canada to the Union and the fate of the brave Montgomery, compelled to a rash attempt by the immediate prospect of being left without troops, might be enumerated in the catalogue of evils that have sprung from this fruitful source.

We not only incur these dangers and suffer these losses, for want of a constant force equal to our exigencies; but while we labor under this impediment, it is impossible there can ever be any order, or economy, or system in our finances. If we meet with any severe blow, the great exertions which the moment requires to stop the progress of the misfortune, oblige us to depart from general principles, to run into any expense, or to adopt any expedient however injurious, on a large scale, to procure the force and means which the present emergency demands. Everything is thrown into confusion, and the measures taken to remedy immediate evils perpetuate others. The same is the case if particular conjunctures invite us to offensive operations; we find ourselves unprepared, without troops, without magazines, and with little time to provide them. We are obliged to force our resources by the most burdensome methods to answer the end; and after all, it is but half answered. The design is announced by the occasional effort, and the enemy have it in their power to counteract and elude the blow. The prices of everything, — men, provisions, etc., — are raised to a height to which the revenues of no government, much less ours, would suffice. It is impossible the people can endure the excessive burden of bounties for annual drafts and substitutes, increasing at every new experiment. Whatever it might cost them once for all to procure men for the war would be a cheap bargain.

I am convinced our system of temporary enlistments has prolonged the war, and encouraged the enemy to persevere. Baffled while we had an army in the field, they have been constantly looking forward to the period of its reduction as the period to our opposition, and the season of their successes. They have flattered themselves with more than the event has justified, for they believed when one army expired we should not be able to raise another. Undeceived, however, in this expectation by experience, they still remain convinced, and to me evidently on good grounds, that we must ultimately sink under a system which increases our expense beyond calculation, enfeebles all our measures, affords the most inviting opportunities to the enemy, and wearies and disgusts the people. This has doubtless had great influence in preventing their coming to terms, and will continue to operate in the same way. The debates on the Ministerial side have frequently manifested the operation of this motive, and it must in the nature of things have had great weight.

The interposition of neutral powers may lead to a negotiation this winter. Nothing will tend so much to make the Court of London reasonable as the prospect of a permanent army in this country, and a spirit of exertion to support it.

It is time we should get rid of an error which the experience of all mankind has exploded, and which our own experience has dearly taught us to reject, — the carrying on a war with militia or (which is nearly the same thing) temporary levies, against a regular, permanent, and disciplined force. The idea is chimerical, and that we have so long persisted in it is a reflection on the judgment of a nation so enlightened as we are, as well as a strong proof of the empire of prejudice over reason. If we continue in the infatuation we shall deserve to lose the object we are contending for.

America has been almost amused out of her liberties. We have frequently heard the behavior of the militia extolled upon one and another occasion, by men who judge only from the surface, by men who had particular views in misrepresenting, by visionary men whose credulity easily swallows every vague story in support of a favorite hypothesis. I solemnly declare I never was witness to a single instance that can countenance an opinion of militia or raw troops being fit for the real business of fighting. I have found them useful as light parties to skirmish in the woods, but incapable of making or sustaining a serious attack. This firmness is only acquired by habits of discipline and service. I mean not to detract from the merit of the militia; their zeal and spirit upon a variety of occasions have entitled them to the highest applause; but it is of the greatest importance we should learn to estimate them rightly. We may expect everything from ours that militia is capable of; but we must not expect from any, services for which regulars alone are fit.

The late battle of Camden is a melancholy comment upon this doctrine. The militia fled at the first fire, and left the Continental troops surrounded on every side, and overpowered by numbers, to combat for safety instead of victory. The enemy themselves have witnessed to their valor.

An ill effect of short enlistments, which I have not yet taken notice of, is that the constant fluctuation of their men is one of the sources of disgust to the officers. Just when by great trouble, fatigue, and vexation (with which the training of recruits is attended), they have brought their men to some kind of order, they have the mortification to see them go home, and to know that the drudgery is to recommence the next campaign. In regiments so constituted, an officer has neither satisfaction nor credit in his command.

Every motive which can arise from a consideration of our circumstances, either in a domestic or foreign point of view, calls upon us to abandon temporary expedients, and substitute something durable, systematic, and substantial. This applies as well to our civil administration as to our military establishment. It is as necessary to give Congress, the common head, sufficient powers to direct the common forces, as it is to raise an army for the war; but I should go out of my province to expatiate on civil affairs. — I cannot forbear adding a few more remarks.

Our finances are in an alarming state of derangement. Public credit is almost arrived at its last stage. The people begin to be dissatisfied with the feeble mode of conducting the war, and with the ineffectual burdens imposed upon them, — which, though light in comparison with what other nations feel, are from their novelty heavy to them; they lose their confidence in Government apace. The army is not only dwindling into nothing, but the discontents of the officers as well as the men have matured to a degree that threatens but too general a renunciation of the service at the end of the campaign. Since January last we have had registered at headquarters more than one hundred and sixty resignations, besides a number of others that never were regularly reported. I speak of the army in this quarter. We have frequently in the course of the campaign experienced an extremity of want. Our officers are indecently defective in clothing. Our men are almost naked, totally unprepared for the inclemency of the approaching season. We have no magazines for the winter. The mode of procuring our supplies is precarious, and all the reports of the officers employed in collecting them are gloomy.

These circumstances conspire to show the necessity of immediately adopting a plan that will give more energy to Government, more vigor and more satisfaction to

the army; without it we have everything to fear. I am persuaded of the sufficiency of our resources if properly directed.

Should the requisitions of Congress by any accident not arrive before the Legislature is about to rise, I beg to recommend that a plan be devised which is likely to be effectual for raising the men that will be required for the war, leaving it to the Executive to apply it to the quota which Congress will fix. I flatter myself, however, the requisitions will arrive in time.

The present crisis of our affairs appears to me so serious as to call upon me as a good citizen to give my sentiments freely for the safety of the Republic. I hope the motive will excuse the liberty I have taken.

I have the honor to be,

With the highest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

Gº. Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, near Passaic Falls,
28th October, 1780.

Dear Sir, — I am to request your Excellency to direct the salt beef mentioned in your letter of the 31st August, and concerning which I wrote to you from Harford, to be forwarded with as much expedition as possible to Fishkill Landing by the upper route, as that by Crumpond[1] has become dangerous, from the incursions of the enemy's Refugee Corps. I am the more anxious to have this parcel of salt provision brought speedily to the North River, as I see no other on which I can depend

[1] A village east of Peckskill, six or eight miles from Hudson River; a bend of the river near by goes by the name of Crum Elbow. — Eds.

for furnishing a winter supply for the important garrison of Fort Schuyler, and if it is not got up to that post in the month of November, it will be extremely difficult afterwards from the badness of the road.

Although the season is already arrived when the magazines of salt meat for the ensuing winter and campaign should be laid in, I cannot learn that the Commissary-General has been enabled to put up a single barrel; so far from it, it is with difficulty the troops in any quarter are subsisted upon fresh meat from day to day.

I have the honor to be,

With the highest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

His Excellency Governor Trumbull. Gº. Washington.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, near Passaic Falls,
1st November, 1780.

Dear Sir, — I was yesterday honored with your Excellency's favor of the 27th ultimo. The letters enclosed for the President of Congress were immediately forwarded by express.

I am happy in believing that the despatches for which you are apprehensive were not in the mail lately lost at Stratford, as the new regulations for the army were not completed when that post left Philadelphia. They were finished the 21st ultimo, and I hope will reach most of the Legislatures during their Fall session.

I have the honor to be, with perfect respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

Gº Washington.

P. S. I transmitted your Excellency some very important despatches on the 18th ultimo; I hope they have got safe to hand.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

(Circular.)

Headquarters, Passaic Falls,
10th November, 1780.

Sir, — From a collective view of the state of our clothing, I find we have not more in the public magazines than will be sufficient for one half of the men enlisted for the war, or whose term of service will extend beyond the winter. To depend any longer upon the supply expected from Europe arriving in time to relieve the wants of the troops, will be leaving the matter upon too precarious a footing. I have therefore thought it a duty incumbent upon me to give you this information, that you may endeavor to procure and send forward the articles most essential to the convenience and comfort of the men. I should have done it sooner, but I still flattered myself with an ample supply from abroad.

The articles most wanted will be waistcoats, blankets, woollen overalls, and stockings. The greater part of the men have coats that may enable them, with warm underclothes, to rub through the severity of the winter. I would recommend that the cloth, with thread, buttons, etc., be sent to the army in the piece; it may be made up there agreeable to the wants of the men, and quicker than at home, as there are tailors sufficient in every corps.

The returns with which you have been lately furnished, very accurately point out the number of men entitled to clothing from the public. A supply equal to half that number will be absolutely necessary; and as there is no probable chance, for the reasons I have before mentioned, of obtaining it from the Continental agents, I must entreat the exertions of each State in behalf of its own troops, as the only means of preventing a number of them from experiencing extreme distress the ensuing winter.

I have the honor to be, with very great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

State of Connecticut. G° Washington.

## * WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
December 8th, 1780.

DEAR SIR, — On my arrival at this place, I met with your Excellency's favor of the 27th November, and immediately gave orders for the returns which you request therein. They shall be transmitted to you, as soon as they are brought in. I have given directions to Colonel Sheldon to make the return of his regiment immediately to you. I very much regret that the requisition of Congress for your quota of men, had not reached you in time to have determined your Legislature upon fixing the period of service for the war. We are deceiving ourselves, and keeping alive the hopes of our enemy, while we levy an army for a day short of the period of the dispute. I did not expect that the recruits would be got into service, at least in any considerable numbers, by the 1st of January. And rather than enter again into the fatal error of short enlistments, I would prefer putting matters to some hazard during the winter, to calling upon the States for a body of men to serve between the 1st of January and the probable time of bringing the levies into the field; because I am certain it would operate against more permanent engagements.

What your Excellency proposes respecting the French troops cannot be accomplished. (In confidence I say it.) They are thought by the French General and Admiral necessary, circumstanced as matters are, to the security of their navy.

As soon as the near arrangement of the army is completed, your Excellency shall be furnished with a list of the officers.

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

G.º WASHINGTON.

P. S. I received yours per Mr. Bael, and gave the necessary orders upon the occasion.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
December 10th, 1780.

Sir, — Your Excellency will, I presume, have received, before this reaches you, an Act of Congress of the 4th of last month, calling on the several States for specific quantities of fresh and salt provisions, flour, salt, and rum for the army, and directing all of the above articles, except the fresh meat, to be collected, and deposited at such places in each of the States as should be judged most convenient by me. This communication I should have done myself the honor of making somewhat earlier, had not the greater part of my time, since the receipt of the Act, been taken up in arranging and visiting the hospitals and winter cantonments of the army.

Upon considering the point with respect to the supplies required of your State, I beg leave to inform your Excellency that it appears to me they should be deposited at the following places and proportions. The salt provisions and salt to be delivered at or near Bull's Iron Works and Hartford, in equal proportions; the first second and third deliveries of rum, at or near Bull's Iron Works; the last at Hartford.

The Commissary-General, as he is directed, will inform you from time to time of the quantities of live cattle which will be necessary, and where they are to be delivered.

I have the honor to be,
With great respect and esteem,
Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

His Excellency Governor Trumbull. G°. Washington.

## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

HARTFORD, December 15th, 1780.

SIR, — Would acquaint your Excellency, we just received intelligence from New York, in three different ways, and in such a manner that we have great reason to think *it may be depended on*, that the enemy are meditating a blow against this State. The traitorous Arnold, it is said, is preparing to come out with three or four British regiments, in order to penetrate into the country; and it is very probable it will be by the way of Kingsbridge. It is certain considerable preparations and movements are making for some notable attempt; I think it my duty to give you the earliest intelligence of this *designed* movement, that your Excellency may take such measures as you may judge requisite therein.

We have upon this occasion put our militia on the sea-coast in readiness, and have ordered one thousand forthwith to the western frontiers. You are sensible the great advantage it will be to have a sufficient body of disciplined regular troops for the militia to act under and co-operate with. Therefore doubt not but your Excellency will think it necessary and expedient, and will readily afford all the assistance in your power from the Continental Army, upon this emergency; especially if the enemy should move out in force against us. Whatever intelligence further may come to hand relative to the movements, shall take care forthwith to forward, and must request your Excellency to do the like.

And am with due respects,

Your most obedient and very humble servant.

(*Signature omitted.*)

HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

## * WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.[1]

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
December 17th, 1780.

SIR — I submitted to the interference of the State of Connecticut last year with respect to the cantonment of the Horse without any animadversion or remark, because I was hopeful that the impropriety of it would appear to them, and prevent the like in future. I shall (as it is the request of the State, and because it is my wish to harmonize, as much as possible, with the civil authority, in the prosecution of a cause in which we are all equally interested), send Sheldon's regiment this winter to the State of Massachusetts; but I cannot help remonstrating very pointedly against a repetition of the practice in future, for the following reasons: —

Four things have always influenced me in the distribution of the troops to their winter cantonments, — security of our capital posts, which makes it necessary that they should have such a relative situation to each other as to afford the necessary succor; cover to the country; their own convenience; and the convenience of the inhabitants, where the two last were not incompatible with the two first.

It is unnecessary, I am persuaded, for me to remark that if any one State can or will undertake to point out a cantonment for one part of the army, another may with equal propriety do it for another part; and that upon the same principle, and by the same parity of reasoning that Connecticut undertakes to advise or direct Sheldon's Horse to Massachusetts, Massachusetts may order them to New Hampshire, and New Hampshire to some other State. In a word, it is striking at the most essential privilege of the

[1] This letter is published in Sparks's Writings of Washington, vii. 331, in a slightly different form, with a note as to matter referred to. — EDS.

Commander-in-Chief, and is pregnant with every mischief that can be conceived.

I have the honor to be,

With great respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

Gº. Washington.

His Excellency Governor Clinton.[1]

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## *WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
19th December, 1780.

Dear Sir, — I have this morning received your Excellency's favor of the 15th. I have likewise had information from New York that the enemy were preparing to make a move of some kind, but all my intelligences suppose that it will be a further detachment to the southward. Indeed, the situation of their affairs in that quarter seems to require a reinforcement. Should they however turn their views towards the western parts of your State, I shall throw in as much Continental force as can be spared, consistent with the safety of these posts, to aid the militia.

The scarcity of provisions (especially of flour, of which we were sometimes without, and frequently upon half and quarter allowance), and the miserable condition which most of the levies were in for want of clothing, have obliged me already to discharge the greater part of them, and your Excellency must know that the terms of service of the whole will expire the last of this month. We shall then be reduced to the bare garrison of West Point and its dependencies, and the number of men requisite to cover our communication from the southward, through

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[1] This address is evidently a clerical error, and intended for Trumbull. — Eds.

Jersey. Thus your Excellency must perceive that, should the enemy move out while this river continues open, it will be in my power to afford but very little assistance, without putting these valuable posts to a most imminent risk.

The principal inducement with me in wishing to have Sheldon's regiment cantoned in the neighborhood of Colchester was, that they might be at hand, should such an event as you now apprehend take place.

Should I hear that the enemy have embarked, I shall communicate the intelligence to your Excellency, that you may as soon as possible get rid of the inconvenience and expense of the militia.

I have the honor to be, with very great respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
Gº. Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
20th December, 1780.

Dear Sir, — Enclosed are the returns called for in your Excellency's letter of the 27th ultimo. Colonel Sheldon is directed to make that of his regiment immediately to you. That, with those now transmitted, will, I believe, include all the men belonging to the State of Connecticut who are serving in any department of the Continental Army.

I have the honor to be, with very great respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
Gº. Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
January 2d, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I have the honor to inform your Excellency of the sailing of the embarkation,[1] which I mentioned in my letter of the 13th of December. The fleet, consisting of thirty-two sail, left the Hook on the 22d ultimo, with a detachment of about sixteen hundred troops on board, under the command of Arnold. It is conjectured they are designed as a further reinforcement to the Southern army, which is said to be greatly weakened by the severity of the service and climate.

I have the honor to be,

With great respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

G°. WASHINGTON.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.[2]

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
January 5th, 1781.

SIR, — It is with extreme anxiety and pain of mind I find myself constrained to inform your Excellency, that the event I have long apprehended would be the consequence of the complicated distresses of the army, has at length taken place. On the night of the first instant, a mutiny was excited by the non-commissioned officers and privates of the Pennsylvania Line, which soon became so universal as to defy all opposition; in attempting to quell this tumult, in the first instance, some officers were killed,

[1] This refers to the departure of a portion of Sir Henry Clinton's fleet from New York. — EDS.

[2] This letter is a copy of one to President Meshech Weare, published in Sparks's Writings of Washington, vii. 352. — EDS.

others wounded, and the lives of several common soldiers lost. Deaf to the arguments, entreaties, and utmost efforts of *all their officers* to stop them, they moved off from Morris Town, the place of their cantonment, with their arms, and six pieces of artillery; and from accounts just received by General Wayne's aide-de-camp, they were still in a body on their march to Philadelphia, to demand a redress of their grievances. At what point this defection will stop, or how extensive it may prove, God only knows; at present, the troops at the important posts in this vicinity remain quiet, not being acquainted with this unhappy and alarming affair; but how long they will remain so cannot be ascertained, as they labor under some of the pressing hardships with the troops who have revolted.

The aggravated calamities and distresses that have resulted from the total want of pay for nearly twelve months, the want of clothing at a severe season, and not unfrequently the want of provisions, are beyond description. The circumstances will now point out much more forcibly what ought to be done than anything that can possibly be said by me on the subject.

It is not within the sphere of my duty to make requisitions, without the authority of Congress, from individual States; but at such a crisis as this, and circumstanced as we are, my own heart will acquit me, and Congress and the States (eastward of this) whom, for the sake of dispatch I address, I am persuaded will excuse me, when once for all I give it decidedly as my opinion that it is vain to think an army can be kept together much longer, under such a variety of sufferings as ours has experienced; and that unless some immediate and spirited measures are adopted to furnish at least three months pay to the troops, in money which will be of some value to them, and at the same time ways and means are devised to clothe and feed them better (more regularly, I mean)

than they have been, the worst that can befall us may be expected.

I have transmitted Congress a copy of this letter, and have in the most pressing manner requested them to adopt the measure which I have above recommended, or something similar to it, and as I will not doubt of their compliance, I have thought proper to give you this previous notice, that you may be prepared to answer the requisitions.

As I have used every endeavor in my power to avert the evil that has come upon us, so will I continue to exert every mean I am possessed of to prevent an extension of the mischief; but I can neither foretell or be answerable for the issue.

That you may have every information that an officer of rank and abilities can give of the true situation of our affairs, and the condition and temper of the troops, I have prevailed upon Brigadier-General Knox to be the bearer of this letter; to him I beg leave to refer your Excellency for many matters which would be too tedious for a letter.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

G°. Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, 12th January, 1781.

Sir, — James Wilson, a soldier of this State on duty at Horseneck, was placed a sentinel over Nathan Frink, a notorious traitor to the States, who had been taken in arms against the same. Frink found means to bribe Wilson to suffer his escape, and both went off together; after this Wilson was taken from the enemy, tried by a Court-

martial, and sentenced to suffer death. While this sentence was sent to me for confirmation, Wilson again escaped, I believe after his sentence was confirmed. Some time after this Wilson comes to our lines under a flag, to procure his family to be removed within the lines of the enemy. Under the last-mentioned circumstances he was detained by General Silliman, and remains in custody. The question to your Excellency is whether the protection of a flag is to be deemed so sacred as to screen a villain from the execution of a sentence which he has so justly merited. I shall be much obliged by a resolution of this query, the rather as a Captain Samuel Marsh, of this State militia, who was going into New York under sanction of a flag, to make some inquiry for the welfare of his son, who was lately wounded and taken by the enemy, is now detained under a pretence of being treated in the same line as we shall deal with Wilson. If your Excellency should be of opinion that the sanction of a flag is not so sacred as to protect Wilson from death, I will be much obliged if you will be pleased to write per the bearer of this to General Clinton, stating the circumstances, and desiring the release of Captain Marsh. If a flag is to be deemed so sacred as to screen the villains, as well as the honest man, this State must take their measures accordingly.

I am, with the highest esteem and consideration,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

JONTH TRUMBULL.

His Excellency General Washington.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
January, 1781.

Sir, — Under the circumstances your Excellency states in your letter of the 12th, there is to me no doubt that

Wilson may be detained and punished, notwithstanding the sanction of a flag. But there is a fact alleged by the enemy, which would entirely change the nature of the case. They pretend that Wilson came out under a passport or permit from Colonel Wells of your militia, while commanding officer at Horseneck, or in that vicinity. If this is true, however censurable Colonel Wells might be in giving the permit, I should advise to respect it and release Wilson. This is a point, if possible, necessary to be ascertained, previous to an application to General Clinton. If, upon investigation, your Excellency finds the pretended passport to be false, I will make a demand as you request of Captain Marsh, unless your Excellency should prefer doing it yourself, as the whole affair has been hitherto without my participation.

I am happy to be able to inform your Excellency, agreeable to the resolve of Congress, that a detachment of the Jersey troops has been already marched to Wyoming.

With the warmest sentiments of respect and esteem,
I have the honor to be,
Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,
G°. Washington.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
January 19th, 1781.

Dear Sir, — I should not trouble your Excellency with such reiterated applications on the score of supplies, if any objects less than the safety of the posts on this river, and indeed the existence of the army, were at stake. By the enclosed extracts of a letter of yesterday, from Major-General Heath, you will see our present situation and future prospects.

If therefore the supply of beef cattle demanded by the requisitions of Congress from your State is not regularly

forwarded to the army, I cannot consider myself as responsible for the maintenance of the garrisons below, or the continuance of a single regiment in the field.

I have the honor to be,

With very great regard and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

G°. WASHINGTON.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.[1]

(Circular.)

Headquarters, New Windsor,
January 22d, 1781.

Dear Sir, — I have received the disagreeable intelligence that a part of the Jersey Line had followed the example of that of Pennsylvania, and when the advices came away it was expected the revolt would be general. The precise intention of the mutineers was not known, but their complaints and demands were similar to those of the Pennsylvanians.

Persuaded that without some decisive effort at all hazards to suppress this dangerous spirit, it would speedily infect the whole army, I have ordered as large a detachment as we could spare from these posts to march under Major-General Howe, with orders to compel the mutineers to unconditional submission, to listen to no terms while they were in a state of resistance, and on their reduction to execute instantly a few of the most active and most incendiary leaders. I am not certain what part the troops detached for this purpose will act, but I flatter myself they will do their duty. I prefer any extremity to which the Jersey troops may be driven, to a compromise.

The weakness of the garrison, but still more its embar-

[1] This letter is the same as one addressed to President Meshech Weare, published in Sparks's Writings of Washington, vii. 381. — Eds.

rassing distress for want of provisions, made it impossible to prosecute such measures with the Pennsylvanians as the nature of the case demanded, and while we were making arrangements, as far as practicable, to supply these defects, an accommodation took place, which will not only subvert the Pennsylvania Line, but have a very pernicious influence on the whole army. I mean however by these remarks only to give an idea of the miserable situation we are in, not to blame a measure, which perhaps in our circumstances was the best that could have been adopted.

The same embarrassments operate against coercion at this moment, but not in so great a degree; the Jersey troops not being, from their number, so formidable as were the Pennsylvanians.

I dare not detail the risks we run from the present scantiness of supplies. We have received few or no cattle for some time past, nor do we know of any shortly to be expected. The salted meat we ought to have reserved in the garrison is now nearly exhausted. I cannot but renew my solicitations with your State to exert every expedient for contributing to our immediate relief.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

G°. Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
29th January, 1781.

Dear Sir,—In the letter which I did myself the honor of writing to you the 22d instant, I informed you of the revolt of the Jersey troops, and of the measures I intended to pursue in consequence. I have now the pleasure to

inform you that Major-General Howe, with the detachments under his command, surrounded the mutineers in their quarters on the morning of the 27th, brought them without difficulty to an unconditional surrender, and had two of the most active instigators immediately tried and executed.

It was judged unnecessary to extend the example further, as there was every appearance of genuine contrition. I hope this will completely extinguish the spirit of mutiny, if effectual measures are taken to prevent its revival, by rendering the situation of the soldiery more tolerable than it has heretofore been; without this, it may be smothered for a while, but it must again break out with greater violence. It is not to be expected that an army can be permanently held together by those ties on which we have too long depended.

I cannot omit doing justice to the detachment which was sent on this service. There was in its behavior every mark of fidelity, obedience, disapprobation of the conduct of the mutineers, and a conviction of the necessity of bringing them to submission and punishment. They made a long march over mountainous roads and through a deep snow with the greatest patience, and obeyed every order with alacrity.

I have the honor to be,
With great esteem and respect, sir,
Your obedient and most humble servant,
G°. Washington.

(Circular.)

P. S. I have had the honor to receive your favor of the 16th instant, by Colonel Dennison.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

HARTFORD, 31st January, 1781.

SIR, — With much anxiety I give you an answer to your late letters respecting the supply of the army.

Colonel Champion has been with me on the subject; he will do everything in his power, with the *means* wherewith he is furnished. Cattle are plenty to be had; nothing but money is wanting. Colonel Champion will send on this week not less than fifty head of cattle, not over one hundred; he is furnished with means to procure a further supply, — I wish it was more ample. Every exertion in my power will be put in motion to fulfil your Excellency's wishes. I have been informed that great irregularity has been practised in the carrying on cattle to the army, — at one time great supplies, at others very scanty. After the last complaint of want, they were sent on in such numbers that great waste has been suffered, — not less I am told than 1000 head of cattle, — for want of pasture and forage, and that after much waste they have been barrelled, and come out of pickle nothing but bone, to the great injury of the army. I know your Excellency is troubled with everything, — is there not *somebody* who may regulate this matter so as to have a greater equality of supplies? The salted provisions which have been put up by this State is ordered on to its repositories in this town and Bull's Falls; some will be sent through to your camp. Permit me to query whether Bull's Falls is a proper place for forming magazines. I fear not. I have conversed with General Knox on the subject. I would mention Woodbury and Litchfield. If you should think with me you will please to give me information in season to alter the route of what is going to Bull's.

I am happy to find General Knox has had so great success in his embassy to the States eastward of this. This

State has not yet concluded on their measures; my Council is to meet me here on Monday next, when the subject of satisfaction to the army will be brought on, and I have much confidence that a concurrence will be given to the measures adopted by the other N. E. States.

I do myself the pleasure to send you per General Knox for your perusal two volumes of pamphlets lately sent me from London by my son; they are curious, and perhaps to you new. After perusal, your Excellency will please to return me them by some safe opportunity as soon as convenient.

With great, etc., I am, your most, etc.,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

His Excellency General Washington.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
February 4th, 1781.

Dear Sir, — I was yesterday honored with your Excellency's letter of the 31st of January, by General Knox. The exertions the Eastern States are making afford me great satisfaction.

I am sorry there should be so much justice in your Excellency's observation respecting the irregularity of supply, and consequent waste of the live cattle sometimes sent to the army. It is easy to trace this misfortune to its source. Each State is called upon for the weekly or monthly proportion of the supplies demanded by Congress. A failure in any one involves the army in distressing want. To relieve this, the most pressing representations are made, which in some instances are attended with such efficacy as to bring on the supplies that have been retained, and produce such a temporary redundance as is attended with the loss and waste which

your Excellency mentions. To depend upon a daily supply of live cattle, as has been the case hitherto, under these circumstances must produce one of the disagreeable alternatives before recited. The negligence of the purchaser or driver, the badness of the roads or interruption of water, inevitably bring on a scarcity, which threatens the army with dissolution; while, on the contrary, a large stock in hand, produced by whatever contingency, is attended with waste, as neither the Commissary or Quartermaster have the means of disposing of the cattle immediately, or supporting them alive in camp. I have not the least doubt but the army might be fed at half the present expense, by having proper magazines laid in, and arrangements made for the department. At the same time, I do not see but two ways to remedy the evil complained of, — either to furnish the Commissary-General with money to purchase, and make him accountable for the supplies of the army, which mode, I conceive, would be far preferable; or to oblige the State agents or contractors to comply punctually with the requisitions made upon them.

In determining the places of deposit for the specific supplies required of the States, it was necessary I should have regard to the subsequent transportation to the probable theatre of action, and to the difficulty of performing this by land carriage, from the want of money and means in the Quartermaster department. I will candidly acknowledge, it was from these considerations I was induced to fix one of the magazines of the State of Connecticut at Hartford, from whence water transportation might eventually [be] had; and the other at Bull's Falls, as being the nearest point to the North River, and our present principal fo[rce whe[1]]re the deposit could safely be made. From the western part of the State, and the places contiguous to the Sound which may be as near

[1] Manuscript torn. — Eds.

to West Point as Bull's Iron Works, it will certainly be eligible to have the provisions forwarded directly to the former.

I thank you for the books sent, and will return them after perusal.

With the greatest consideration and esteem,
I have the honor to be,
Your most obedient servant,
G°. WASHINGTON.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
21st February, 1781.

Dear Sir, — Having been obliged to make a very considerable temporary detachment from the army, I am under the necessity of immediately calling in what recruits may be raised in the neighboring States to replace it. I have directed the superintending officers at the different places of rendezvous to do this, but I must request your Excellency, if it possibly can be done, to furnish them in whole or in part with clothing, as I do not believe our whole stock on hand consists of more than waistcoats and breeches for 2000 men. If the recruits could be made tolerably comfortable they might do garrison duty, which is what they will be employed in until the spring.

I cannot avoid mentioning a matter to your Excellency which is well worth your attention and that of the Legislature. It is the shameful neglect, not to call it worse, of those persons appointed by law to muster and pass the recruits. General Parsons informs that the first which came from your State, seven in number, were all totally unfit for service. He has sent them to Hartford, that the

Legislature may themselves be witnesses of the imposition which has been put upon the public, and which will be practised in numberless instances, while any but military men, interested in having healthy, sound soldiers, are to be judges of the sufficiency of the recruit. To endeavor to remedy this evil, I have ordered a good field-officer to be stationed at each place of rendezvous, and if any man is brought in, not qualified for the service, he is to refuse receiving him and to send him immediately back to the town which furnished him.

I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's favor of the 5th, by the Duke de Lauzun. The corps of invalids are stationed, by order of Congress, at Philadelphia and Boston, and it is not therefore in my power to send the invalids of the army to any other places except by the authority of Congress.

I have the honor to be,

With great respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

G°. Washington.

Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
April 10th, 1781.

Dear Sir, — By an almost total failure of the supplies of beef cattle demanded by Congress of the Eastern States, I find we are again reduced to the verge of distress (our little magazines which were laid up for an emergency being entirely exhausted), and that there is no prospect of an immediate relief, but from the salted provisions of Connecticut.

I have therefore to request in the most earnest manner that your Excellency will interpose your influence and authority to aid the Quartermaster in forwarding

these provisions, and that a sufficient number of teams may be procured in the several towns westward of Connecticut River, to take up at once the whole of the salted meat in those towns, and transport it directly to Fishkill, or the nearest landing on the North River, where it can safely be deposited; or that some other speedy and effectual means may be devised for the transportation. Mr. Pomeroy, the Deputy Quartermaster of your State, having informed Mr. Stevens, the acting Commissary with the army, that there were some embarrassments which prevented the forwarding these provisions, I have already written to the former, expressing my idea of his misapprehension of this matter, and directing him (if there still remained any difficulties) to make application to your Excellency for their removal.

Convinced that nothing but an immediate supply through this channel can avert the most imminent and fatal misfortunes, I have been thus explicit and pointed in my representation, and cannot but flatter myself that, on such an occasion, the substantial farmers will furnish their teams with great alacrity, upon your requisition; especially as the roads are now good, and as the whole business may be performed without interfering much with the planting season.

I have the honor to be,

With great respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
April 17th, 1781.

Dear Sir, — By the letter from the Quartermaster-General, transmitted herewith, your Excellency will be

pleased to observe the necessity of furnishing the camp equipage specified in the estimate for the troops of your State, as also the reason why this application was not made at an earlier period.

Every other effort for a supply having failed of success, this is the last resource now remaining; and I have only to add my earnest wishes that *this* may not disappoint our expectations.

With great respect and esteem,

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

G°. WASHINGTON.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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## WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.[1]

Headquarters, New Windsor,
May 10th, 1781.

Dear Sir,—Major-General Heath, second in command, and an officer whose high rank and consideration entitle him to very particular notice and attention, is prevailed upon to proceed to the several Eastern States, to represent the distresses of the army for want of provision, and the consequences which must inevitably ensue, unless a more regular system and more vigorous measures for affording supplies are speedily adopted.

From the post of Saratoga to that of Dobb's Ferry inclusive, I believe there is not (by the returns and reports made to me) at this moment one day's supply of meat for the army on hand. Our whole dependence for this article is on the Eastern States; their resources of it, I am persuaded, are ample: to request and urge that they may be drawn forth regularly, and to be informed

[1] This letter, with trifling changes and without the postscript, is published in Sparks's Writings of Washington, viii. 36. — Eds.

with precision and certainty what may absolutely be depended upon through the campaign, are the objects of this application.

I have already made representations to the States of the want of provisions, the distress of the army, and the innumerable embarrassments we have suffered in consequence, not merely once or twice, but have reiterated them over and over again; I have struggled to the utmost of my ability to keep the army together, but all will be in vain without the effectual assistance of the States. I have now only to repeat the alternative which has been so often urged, that supplies, particularly of *beef cattle*, must be speedily and regularly provided, or our posts cannot be maintained, nor the army kept in the field much longer.

I entreat your Excellency that this representation may be received in the serious light it is meant and deserves, or that I may stand exculpated from the dreadful consequences which must otherwise inevitably follow in a short time.

I enter not into the detail of matters, as General Heath will be able to give your Excellency every necessary information, and lay the proper estimates of supplies for the campaign before you.

I have the honor to be,

With great esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

G°. Washington.

P. S. I have received your Excellency's letter of the 27th of April.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Weathersfield, May 22d, 1781.

Dear Sir, — I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency a resolution of Congress respecting mounting and equipping the corps of Dragoons raised by the State of Connecticut. I am the more induced to wish this may be done, as Colonel Sheldon's is now the only regiment of cavalry destined to act with the army under my immediate command, and as the number of men in that regiment now mounted are totally unequal to the services which must be expected and required of them. Being impressed with the importance of the subject, I take the liberty therefore to recommend it to the earliest and most effectual attention of your State.

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.[1]

Weathersfield, 24th May, 1781.

Sir, — In consequence of a conference held between his Excellency the Count de Rochambeau and myself, at this place, the French Army will march as soon as circumstances will admit, and form a junction with the American upon the North River.

The accomplishment of the object which we have in contemplation is of the utmost importance to America, and will in all probability be attained, unless there should be a failure on our part in the number of men

[1] This letter, with trifling changes, is the same as one published in Sparks's Writings of Washington, viii. 51, addressed to President Meshech Weare, and was sent as a circular to all the New England States. — Eds.

which will be required for the operation, or the enemy should withdraw a considerable part of their force from the southward. It is in our own power by proper exertions to prevent the first, and should the last take place, we shall be amply repaid our expenses by liberating the Southern States, where we have found by experience we are only vulnerable.

Upon the calculations that I have been able, in concert with some of the most experienced French and American officers, to form, the operation in view will require, in addition to the French Army, all the Continental battalions from New Hampshire to New Jersey inclusive, to be completed to their full establishment. You must be sensible that the measures taken for that purpose, in consequence of the last requisition of Congress, have been very far from answering the end, as few recruits, comparatively speaking, have yet been sent forward, and, of those, many have been discharged on account of inability. You must also take into consideration that a number of those men who were returned when the requisition was made, have since been taken off by the various casualties incident to an army, — I estimate about one sixth of the number, — and therefore provision must at this time be made to replace them.

From what has been premised you will perceive, without my urging further reasons, the necessity I am under of calling upon you in the most earnest manner to devise means to send into the field, without delay, the number of men which have been already voted for the completion of the battalions of your State, and the further deficiency of one sixth just mentioned. The term of three years or for the war would undoubtedly be preferable to any shorter period, but, if they cannot be obtained on those conditions, necessity must oblige us to take them for the campaign only, which ought to be reckoned to the last of December.

I should hope that, by proper exertions in collecting and sending forward the men that have been already raised, and compelling, by rigorous and decisive methods, the delinquent towns to furnish their quotas, the greater part of the men may be collected by the 1st of July.

Arguments surely cannot be wanting to impress the Legislature with a due sense of the obligation which they are under of furnishing the means now called for. The enemy, counting upon our want of ability or upon our want of energy, have, by repeated detachments to the southward, reduced themselves to a situation which invites us to take advantage of it; and should the lucky moment be lost, it is to be feared that they will, after subduing the Southern States, raise a force in them sufficient to hold them, and return again to the northward with such a number of men as will render New York secure against any force which we can, at this time of day, raise or maintain. Our allies in this country expect and depend upon being supported by us in the attempt which we are about to make, and those in Europe will be astonished should we neglect the favorable opportunity which is now offered.

As it is probable that some militia, in addition to the full complement of Continental troops, may be necessary to support communications and other purposes, you will be pleased to direct 1500 men to be held in readiness to march within one week after I shall call for them, to serve three months after they have joined the army; and I would take the liberty of requesting that the Executive may be vested with full powers, during the recess, to comply with any further requisitions I may make for men, provisions, or for the means of transportation, — which last may be most essential in the course of our operations, should it become necessary to bring provisions or stores from a distance.

I shall be glad to be favored with an answer as soon as

possible, with an assurance of what I may depend upon, that if I do not clearly see a prospect of being supported, I may turn my views to a defensive instead of an offensive plan, and save the States and our allies the expense which would be needlessly incurred by any but an ample and effectual preparation.

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

His Excellency Governor Trumbull. G.º Washington.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Weathersfield, 25th May, 1781.

Sir, — It having been represented to me that some powder has been made by your Excellency's directions, at Glastenbury and New Haven in this State, of materials belonging to the Continent, I take the liberty earnestly to request that such measures may be taken by the State as will transport it to Fishkill, with the utmost expedition, great care being had that it should not be injured by the weather on its route.

The great demand we shall have for powder in the proposed operations of the campaign obliges me to apply to the respective States, who have any, for a loan to supply our deficiency. I therefore request of your Excellency as great a loan of that necessary article as the State of Connecticut can possibly spare, and that it be transported by the State to Fishkill.

If the measures which have been taken to procure an ample supply of powder from Europe shall prove successful, the Continent will soon have ability to repay any loan which may be furnished on this occasion. I beg a speedy and explicit answer on this subject.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

His Excellency Governor Trumbull. G.º Washington.

## * WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, NEW WINDSOR,
15th June, 1781.

SIR, — I flatter myself the proper measures have been before this time taken to procure the number of men for Continental and militia service, required by my letter of the 24th May from Weathersfield. In the calculation which I then made of the aid of militia which would be necessary to support the operations which we have in view, I included sixteen hundred from Pennsylvania; but that State, having been since called upon to embody and march two thousand four hundred men immediately to the assistance of Virginia, I am obliged to add the number which I shall be disappointed in from Pennsylvania to the quotas required from the other States. Your proportion of them will be six hundred, which, with the requisitions of the 24th of May, will make in the whole two thousand one hundred.

From circumstances, I have reason to expect that our operations will commence somewhat earlier than I at first expected. I am in immediate want of eight hundred militia for a particular purpose. Your Excellency will therefore oblige me by ordering that number to repair, as soon as possible, from the most contiguous counties to West Point, — the remainder to march in such time that they may punctually join the army by the 15th of July next.

I am convinced that I need not enter into a repetition of the arguments which were made use of in my letter of the 24th May, to induce the most strenuous exertions to fill up the Continental battalions. I will only say that our success will depend upon that being done. Without it, there is not a chance, and with it we have the fairest prospect. These men must be sent forward as fast as they are raised.

I am in hopes that the Assembly will at their present meeting take effectual measures for supplying the quota of beef called for in the requisitions which were laid before you by Major-General Heath. Your Excellency must be fully sensible that our whole dependence for provisions is upon the exertions of the States, and that without their punctual compliance with the demands made upon them the force which will be collected must soon disband; whereby the immense expense which we are now incurring by our preparations will be a dead loss, and the consequence, in a political view, of a most serious and alarming nature.

I have the honor to be,

With great respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

P. S. By a general return of the 9th instant, the total amount of your five regiments of Infantry was 1668, in which are included 563 recruits, being all that had joined up to the 1st instant.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, New Windsor,
June 24th, 1781.

Dear Sir, — I am honored with your Excellency's letter of the 30th instant, together with the several enclosures.

The measures which have been taken by your Legislature to produce a prompt compliance with the requisitions upon the State, are of a good complexion, and afford me great satisfaction.

I flatter myself the ample powers with which your Excellency and your Council are invested will be strenuously exerted to carry those salutary measures into

execution. I shall be extremely happy to see you at the army; and am

With the highest sentiments of esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull. G°. Washington.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Peekskill,
28th June, 1781.

Dear Sir, — Enclosed your Excellency will receive copy of a letter addressed to me from General Parsons, representing the situation of the troops of your Line of the army.

I feel myself so distressed at this representation, not only as it affects the troops themselves, but from the apprehension I have of the consequences which may, from their feelings, be produced to the general service, that, although it is not within my province to interfere with the internal resolutions or determinations of the States, I did not think it amiss to transmit this letter to your Excellency, and to beg the most serious attention of the State to its subject.

Permit me, sir, to add, that policy alone in our present circumstances seems to demand that every satisfaction which can reasonably be requested should be given to those veteran troops who, through almost every distress, have been so long and so faithfully serving the States; as, from every representation, I have but too much reason to suppose that the most fatal consequences to your Line will ensue upon the total loss of any further expectations than they at present have, of relief from the State; and how serious will be the consequences to our present meditated operations, should any disturbance arise in so respectable a body of the troops composing this army as that from the State of Connecticut, I leave

the State to reflect. For myself, I lament the prospect in its most distant idea.

If your Legislature should not be sitting (as I suppose they are not), I leave it to your Excellency to determine whether it is necessary immediately to convene them on this subject. I have only to wish that it may have as early a consideration as may be found convenient, or consistent with other circumstances which must be best known to your Excellency.

I have the honor to be,

With most perfect esteem and regard, sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

GOVERNOR TRUMBULL. Gº WASHINGTON.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, PEEKSKILL,
1st July, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am obliged again to trouble your Excellency with the distress we are in for want of provisions to feed the troops. By a return from the Commissary-General of Issues, we have received from the 12th of May to this day only 312 head of cattle, and those in the following proportions, viz: —

| | |
|---|---|
| New Hampshire | 30 |
| Massachusetts Bay | 230 |
| Connecticut | 52 |
| | 312 |

From this supply, with the help of salted provisions, we have barely subsisted from hand to mouth. The army is now augmenting and in the field, yet our prospects of provisions rather seem on the decline than otherwise, if we may judge from its actual arrival, very little having come on lately, and no knowledge being had of any supply on the roads. Thus circumstanced, I am obliged to declare that unless more strenuous exertions are made by the States to feed their few troops in the field, we

shall be reduced to the necessity not only to relinquish our intended operations, but shall be obliged absolutely to disband for want of subsistence; or, which is almost equally to be lamented, the troops will be obliged to seek it for themselves wherever it is to be found. Either of these circumstances taking place will put us into a most distressing situation on our own account, and at the same time place us in a most shameful point of view in the eyes of our French allies, and unhappily reduce them to a most disagreeable dilemma.

Our expectations looking altogether to the Eastern States for a supply of the meat kind, I must entreat your Excellency that every possible measure may be exerted that your State may furnish its quota of fresh beef, and that we may have a speedy earnest of their intentions.

I am informed that the salted provision begins to fail coming on; I hope your quantity is not yet exhausted. That I may obtain a thorough knowledge of what is now on hand, on the road, and in the State, and that I may thereby be enabled to judge what our dependence may be on that article, I have desired Colonel Stewart, C. Gen. of Issues, to send on the road into your State one of his most active and intelligent people, to make strict inquiry, and to obtain a real return of all he can find, and to urge the necessity of immediate forwarding. If he should have occasion to apply to your Excellency, I dare say you will give him every assistance and information in your power.

I have the honor to be,

With perfect esteem and consideration, sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

Gº. Washington.

P. S. M. Stevens will mention the necessity of rum, and the deficiency from your State of that article.

Governor Trumbull.

## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

LEBANON, 9th July, 1781.

DEAR SIR,—I have before me your Excellency's letter of the 1st instant. Enclosed is the result of a meeting of Commissioners at Providence the 26th June; for the month of July, it was thought best for every State to get forward their whole quota of fresh beef as fast as possible. For this State Colonel Champion was first furnished with £500, and now with near £800 more in hard cash, with which to purchase, and several of the towns have collected so as to send forward immediately. For the following months certain days are fixed for each State to furnish their fresh beef, and I am in hopes there will be no failure; this State will furnish £800 hard money more to add to invigorate and hasten the supplies.

I intend to remain at home till the troops are forwarded from hence, then to remove to Hartford to promote the hastening on the fresh beef and other supplies; and should it appear necessary and expedient, shall remove further westward with an Executive Council about me, to promote everything needful that is in our power. My great object is to forward our troops, and by the most strenuous exertions to feed the army that they be not reduced to any disagreeable necessities.

The salted provisions are ordered to be forwarded by the Deputy-Quartermaster, and I doubt not they will turn out in the whole about 8,000 lbs. The quantity gone on I suppose to be not more than one half of them. Mr. Stevens, Assistant Commissary-General, will give a thorough knowledge thereof, far better than is in my power to do. He was with me, and received the information I was able to give him. Mr. Pomeroy hath orders to send on 20 hhds. of rum, sixty bbs. of powder, and more will be ordered as soon as I get to Hartford. There is fifty-seven bbs. more of the powder belonging [to] the

Continent to be sent, and what further supplies of that article I shall be granted by the State is not yet determined; I know there is considerable that may be spared. Inquiry will be made into the quantity on hand, and notice given General Knox.

I have the honor to be,

With great esteem and consideration,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

His Excellency General Washington.

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TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

Lebanon, 17th July, 1781.

Dear Sir, — Since my last to your Excellency, I have received a letter from General Parsons, dated 10th instant, filled with severe remarks and reflections on our Legislature. Copy thereof, with my answer is enclosed.

I wish to do the things that make for peace with both officers and men of the Connecticut Line of the army, consisting of our own people, raised for defending and securing the rights and liberties of the whole, embarked in the same common cause, and to return to citizens again when the contest with the British King and ministry is ended,— to prevent if possible discord and division, so very dangerous in our situation and hazardous to our present operations. Surely the officers do not desire to inflame the soldiery with apprehensions that the Assembly deny them that justice which was done them the last year, with which they were satisfied, when the Committee from the Line knew the whole accounts of pay and wages were gone through and ready to be closed on the same principles, and that nothing remained in question but only the detained rations of the officers; this was not agitated till it became time for the Committee

to return to their duty, when there was scarcely time for the members of so numerous a body to deliberate on the subject — eight pence half-penny per ration was offered from 1st April, 1780 — many were of opinion that by the time of payment that rate would be more than sufficient for the same; others proposed to secure a specific payment. As to what was due before that 1st of April, 1780, it naturally lay open for the direction of the Honorable Congress. In the midst of these deliberations the Committee left us unexpectedly. I observed no design to deny justice to the officers; to the soldiery there could be none, — the accounts were fully agreed, prepared, and ready to be closed. I choose to forbear any recrimination, yet suffer me to inquire why the Committee from the Line did not bring on the settlement for detained rations earlier; they knew it must require time for deliberation, when they well knew the principles for settlement of pay and wages were agreed on the last year. Do they mean to press for more than justice from the necessity of their present services, and the fears of fatal consequences if denied? The whole Line know and ought to consider their pay and wages are secured in full value, while depreciation operates as a heavy tax upon the rest of the people. The officers may likewise consider that their pay was raised by Congress 50 per cent above what the State agreed with them for. The maxim adopted by the enemy is that old one of *divide et impera.* Will we suffer avarice to divide and ruin us and our cause, and give them opportunity to exult and triumph over us?

Providence hath and doth smile propitiously upon us, and calls aloud for union, vigorous exertions, patience and perseverance, and to endure hardship as good soldiers that the end may be peace. Justice and peace ride together in the same chariot; it will be my constant endeavor that peace may be obtained on just and honorable terms, and that justice be done to them who jeopard their

lives in the high places of the field in defence, and to secure the blessings of freedom for ourselves and posterity.

I wrote yesterday to the Treasurer to inform me this week what sum of hard money is and can be immediately collected for the army, which shall be sent forward without delay.

The measures directed and orders given for raising and marching our troops to the army, are now diligently carrying into execution.

I have the honor to be,

With every sentiment of esteem and consideration,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

His Excellency General Washington.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.[1]

(Circular.)

Headquarters, Dobbs Ferry,
2d August, 1781.

Sir, — I regret being obliged to inform your Excellency that I find myself at this late period very little stronger than I was when the army first moved out of their quarters. Of the militia which were required from the State of Connecticut, and which were to have joined me by the 15th of last month, only 176 have come on, and of the levies for the Continental battalions only 221 in the course of the last month. The reinforcements from the other States have been far short of this . . . proportion.

I leave your Excellency to judge of the delicate and embarrassed situation in which I stand at this moment, unable to advance with prudence beyond my present

[1] This letter, except part of the first paragraph, the postscript, and a few verbal alterations, is the same as one printed in Sparks's Writings of Washington, viii. 123, addressed to Meshech Weare. — Eds.

position, while perhaps in the general opinion my force is equal to the commencement of operations against New York; my conduct must appear, if not blamable, highly mysterious at least. Our allies, with whom a junction has been formed near four weeks, and who were made to expect from the engagements which I entered into with them at Weathersfield in May last, a very considerable augmentation of our force by this time, instead of seeing a prospect of advancing, must conjecture upon good grounds that the campaign will waste fruitlessly away. I shall just remark that it will be no small degree of triumph to our enemies, and will have a very pernicious influence upon our friends in Europe, should they find such a failure of resource, or such a want of energy to draw it out, that our boasted and expensive preparations end only in idle parade.

I cannot yet persuade myself, and I do not discontinue to encourage our allies, with a hope that our force will still be sufficient to carry our intended operations into effect; or if we cannot fully accomplish that, to oblige the enemy to withdraw part of their force from the southward to support New York, and which, as I informed you in my letter from Weathersfield, was part of our plan.

Your Excellency must be sensible that the fulfilment of my engagements must depend upon the degree of vigor with which the Executives of the several States exercise the powers with which they have been vested, and enforce the laws lately passed for filling up and supplying the army. In full confidence that the means which have been voted will be obtained, I shall continue my preparations; but I must take the liberty of informing you that it is essentially necessary I should be made acquainted, and that immediately upon the receipt of this, of the number of Continental levies and militia which have been forwarded, and what are the prospects of obtaining the remainder. I will further add that it

will be equally necessary to see that the monthly quota of provisions stipulated at the meeting of the Commissioners at Providence is regularly complied with.

I have the honor to be,

With perfect esteem and regard,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

G°. Washington.

P. S. For the quiet of the troops of your Line, I am anxious that a sum of money, to the amount of two or three months' pay, may come on immediately. If this is much longer delayed, I am very fearful what may be the consequences.

Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, Dobbs Ferry,
3d August, 1781.

Dear Sir, — I have been honored with your Excellency's favor of the 31st ultimo. I most ardently wish that your orders for reinforcing and supplying the army may be carried into execution with a zeal and ardor equal to that with which, I am persuaded, they are given.

Money for the pay of the troops of your Line will be exceedingly welcome; the sooner it arrives the more salutary will be its consequences.

It will be very difficult for the Quartermaster-General, unfurnished as he is with money or the means of transportation, to get on the clothing which you are so good as to mention; if the States could find means to hand it on to us, it would prove a very agreeable circumstance.

Your Excellency, I fancy, must be better able to judge of the security of some place for yourself and Council to sit at in the western part of your State, than I am. I imagine however that you may be quite secure at Dan-

bury, unless you fear the designs of your own internal disaffected people; from the enemy at New York or on Long Island there can be, I think, but little or no danger. Against the disaffected in the vicinity of Danbury a small guard will give you protection. On your coming this way, I flatter myself you will be so good as to do me the honor of a visit at camp; be assured, sir, I shall esteem myself peculiarly happy in such an event, and I will make it my care to render your stay with me as agreeable as circumstances will permit.

I have the honor to be,

With perfect esteem and regard, dear sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

GOVERNOR TRUMBULL. G°. WASHINGTON.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, DOBBS FERRY,
August 16th, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — It being of the utmost importance that a quantity of salted provision, not less than 1,000 barrels, should be immediately shipped from Connecticut River to Rhode Island, the Quartermaster-General has despatched Mr. Mix, an officer in his department (who will have the honor of delivering this letter to your Excellency), to see that business carried instantly into execution.

I pray your Excellency therefore to give every aid and assistance in your power to enable him to expedite the transportation of this provision with all possible despatch, and that you will *issue your impress warrant* to obtain vessels for the purpose, if they cannot be otherwise procured. This warrant to be made use of, in case the other measures which your Excellency shall be pleased to suggest do not instantly meet with success.

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR TRUMBULL. G°. WASHINGTON.

* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

(CIRCULAR.)

HEADQUARTERS, KING'S FERRY,
22d August, 1781.

SIR, — I feel myself unhappy in being obliged to inform your Excellency that the circumstances in which I find myself at this late period have induced me to make an alteration of the main object which was at first adopted, and which has hitherto been held in view, for the operations of this campaign. It gives me pain to say that the delay of the several States to comply with my requisitions of the 24th of May last, on which in a great measure depended the hopes of our success in that attempt, has been one great and operative reason to lead to this alteration. Other circumstances, it is true, have had their weight in this determination; and it may in the course of events prove happy for the States that this deviation from our main design has been adopted.

The fleet of the Count De Grasse, with a body of French troops on board, will make its first appearance in the Chesapeake, which, should the time of the fleet's arrival prove favorable, and should the enemy under Lord Cornwallis hold their present position in Virginia, will give us the fairest opportunity to reduce the whole British force in the South, and to ruin their boasted expectations in that quarter. Towards effecting this desirable object it has been judged expedient, taking into consideration our own present circumstances, with the situation of the enemy in New York and at the southward, to abandon the siege of the former place, and to march a body of troops, consisting of a detachment from the American army with the whole of the French troops, immediately to Virginia. With this detachment, which will be very considerable, I have determined to march myself. The American troops are already on the west side of the Hudson, and the French army will be at King's

Ferry this day. When the whole are crossed our march will be continued with as much despatch as circumstances will admit.

The American army which will remain in this department (excepting two light companies and some detachments), consists of the two regiments of New Hampshire, ten from Massachusetts, five of Connecticut Infantry, with Sheldon's Legion, Crane's Artillery, the State troops and militia; which force, with proper exertions from the States, will, it is expected, be sufficient to hold the enemy in check at New York, and prevent their ravages on the frontiers. The command during my absence is committed to Major-General Heath, who will have the honor to communicate with the States on every occasion which may require their attention.

As the enemy's force in New York has been for some time past very considerable, and it being reported with a good degree of certainty that they have lately received a very respectable reinforcement of German recruits from Europe, it will be necessary still to send forward a great part, if not the whole of the militia requested from your State, in the same manner as if no alteration had taken place in our measures. You will therefore continue to send on at least 1,400 men from your State, to the orders of General Heath, with as much despatch as possible, unless you should be informed from him that this number need not be completed.

On this occasion I cannot omit to repeat to you my opinion of the absolute importance of filling your Continental battalions to their complete numbers, for the war or three years; not only our past experience for a course of years, but our present circumstances should strongly enforce the necessity of this measure. Every campaign teaches us the increasing difficulty and expense of procuring short-termed levies, and their decreasing utility in the field. The large reinforcements which the enemy

have this campaign sent to America indicates their expectation of the continuance of the war. Should that be the case, the best way to meet them is certainly with a permanent force; but should the war be drawing to a close, a permanent and respectable army will give us the happiest prospects of a favorable peace. In every view, a permanent army should be the great object with the States, as they regard sound policy, prudence, or economy, or in a word, as they wish to see a happy establishment to their independence.

I have the honor to be,

With every sentiment of personal attachment,
Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

G.º Washington.

Governor Trumbull.

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### * WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.[1]

Philadelphia, 28th November, 1781.

Dear Sir, — I have the honor to acknowledge your favor of the 6th instant, and to thank your Excellency with great sincerity for the very cordial and affectionate congratulations which you are pleased to express on our late success in Virginia.

I most earnestly hope that this event may be productive of all those happy consequences which your Excellency mentions; and I think that its good effects cannot fail to be very extensive, unless from a mistaken idea of the magnitude of this success unhappily a spirit of remissness should seize the minds of the States, and they should set themselves down in quiet with a delusive hope of the contest being brought to its close. I hope this may not be the case. To prevent so great an evil shall be the study of my winter's endeavor; and I cannot but

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[1] This letter is printed in Sparks's Writings of Washington, viii. 212, with some verbal alterations. — Eds.

flatter myself that the States, instead of relaxing in their exertions, will be stimulated to the most vigorous preparations for another active, glorious, and decisive campaign; which if properly prosecuted will, I trust, under the smiles of Heaven, bring us to the end of this long and tedious war, and sit us down in the full security of the great object of our toils, — the complete establishment of peace, liberty, and independence.

Whatever may be the policy of European Courts during this winter, their negotiations will form too precarious a dependence for us to trust to. Our wisdom should dictate to us a serious preparation for war, and in that state we shall find ourselves in a situation secure against every event.

Your Excellency's wish for some ships of our ally to be stationed at New London, I should have been happy in promoting, would circumstances have permitted; but the Admiral De Grasse has taken almost all his ships of war with him from this coast, and except a frigate or two left in York River for the security and aid of the French troops, who will have their winter quarters in the vicinity of York Town, not a ship of force is left upon the American Station. The supply of fresh beef to the French West India Islands is certainly a desirable object to our allies, and is worthy of attention; but no security can be given to its transportation from the quarter your Excellency mentions.

I have the honor to be,

With great sincerity of respect and regard,

Your Excellency's most obedient

and most humble servant,

G°. Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.[1]

(Circular.)

Philadelphia, 22d January, 1782.

Sir, — Although it may be somewhat out of my province to address your Excellency on a subject not immediately of a military nature, yet I consider it so nearly connected with, and so essential to the operations under my direction, that I flatter myself my interference will not be deemed impertinent.

Upon applying to the Superintendent of Finance, to know how far I might depend upon him for the pay, feeding, and clothing of the army for the current year, he very candidly laid open to me the state of our money-eyed affairs, and convinced me that although the assistances we had derived from abroad were considerable, yet they would be by no means adequate to our expenses. He informed me further, that to make up this deficiency the States had been called upon by Congress for eight millions of dollars for the service of the year 1782, and showed me the copy of a circular letter from himself to the several Legislatures, in which he had so fully and clearly pointed out the necessity of a compliance with the requisition, that it is needless for me to say more on that head than that I entirely concur with him in opinion, so far as he has gone into the matter. But there are other reasons which could not be so well known to him as they are to me, as having come under my immediate observation, and which, therefore, I shall take the liberty to mention.

Your Excellency cannot but remember the ferment into which the whole army was thrown twelve months ago, for the want of pay and a regular supply of clothing and provisions, and with how much difficulty they

[1] This letter, except the postscript, is the same as one printed in Sparks's Writings of Washington, viii. 226, addressed to Meshech Weare. — Eds.

were brought into temper, by a partial supply of the two first, and a promise of more regular supplies of all in future. Those promises the soldiery now begin to claim; and although we shall be able to satisfy them tolerably in respect to clothing, and perfectly in regard to provision (if the Financier is enabled to comply with his contracts), yet there is no prospect of obtaining pay, until a part of the money required of the States can be brought into the public treasury. You cannot conceive the uneasiness which arises from the total want of so essential an article as money, and the real difficulties in which the officers in particular are involved on that account. The favorable aspect of our affairs, and the hopes that matters are in a train to afford them relief, contribute to keep them quiet; but I cannot answer for the effects of a disappointment.

Enabling the Financier to comply with his contracts is a matter of the utmost consequence; the very existence of the army depends upon it. Should he fail in his payments the contract ceases, and there is no alternative left but to disband, or live upon the seizure of the neighboring property. The saving to the public by feeding an army by contract is too well known to need any illustration, and that alone ought to be a sufficient inducement to the States to find the means of adhering to it.

It will perhaps be urged that the sum called for is immense, and beyond the ability of the country to pay. There is one plain answer to that objection, should it be made; it is, that if the war is carried on, a certain expense must be incurred, and that such expense must be drawn from the people, either by a partial, cruel, and I may say, illegal seizure of that property which lays most convenient to the army, or by a regular and equitable tax in money or specific articles. Money, if it can be procured, is to be preferred, because it is neither liable to waste

nor is it expensive in the mode of collection or transportation; whereas, I think I may venture to say, that a great proportion of the specific articles have been wasted after the people have furnished them, and that the transportation alone of what have reached the army has, in numberless instances, cost more than the value of the articles themselves.

To bring this war to a speedy and happy conclusion must be the fervent wish of every lover of his country, and sure I am that no means are so likely to effect these as vigorous preparations for another campaign. Whether then we consult our true interest, substantial economy, or sound policy, we shall find that relaxation and languor are of all things to be avoided. Conduct of that kind on our part will produce fresh hopes and new exertions on that of the enemy, whereby the war, which has already held beyond the general expectation, may be protracted to such a length, that the people, groaning under the burden of it and despairing of success, may think any change a change for the better.

I will close with a request that your Excellency will be good enough to take the first opportunity of laying these my sentiments before the Legislature of your State. From the attention which they have ever been pleased to pay to any former requisitions or representations of mine, I am encouraged to hope that the present, which is equally important with any I have ever made, will meet with a favorable reception.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

P. S. The return of troops called for by resolve of the 10th of December, is collecting, and will be forwarded very soon. The remote situation of some of the corps has made it a tedious business, but such is the nature of it

that an accurate return cannot be digested until the returns of all the Legionary Corps and those of Artillery are obtained, that credit may be given for the men serving in them.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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## * WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.[1]

Headquarters, Philadelphia,
January 31st, 1782.

Sir, — I have the honor of transmitting herewith accurate returns of the number of men now actually in service from your State, in order that measures may be adopted for completing the regiments to the full establishment, agreeably to the resolution of Congress of the 10th of December. I cannot omit so favorable an occasion of expressing my sentiments on that subject, and of entreating in the most earnest manner that there may be a speedy, pointed, and effectual compliance with those requisitions.

It will, I flatter myself, be unnecessary to recapitulate all the arguments I made use of in the circular letter I had the honor to address to the Governors of the several States, at the close of the campaign of 1780; in which, it must be remembered, I took the liberty to urge, from the knowledge I had of our affairs and a series of experience, the policy, the expediency, the necessity of recruiting the army, as the only probable means of bringing the war to a speedy and happy conclusion. If those arguments had any influence at that time, if the consequent exertions were crowned with any success, if the present crisis exhibits new and more forcible inducements for still greater efforts, let me point your Excellency and the

[1] This letter, except the last paragraph, is the same as one printed in Sparks's Writings of Washington, viii. 232, addressed to Meshech Weare. — Eds.

Legislature to these considerations; and especially let me recommend in the warmest terms that all the fruits of the successes which have been obtained the last campaign may not be thrown away by an inglorious winter of languor and inactivity.

However, at this advanced stage of the war, it might seem to be an insult upon the understanding to suppose a long train of reasoning necessary to prove that a respectable force in the field is essential to the establishment of our liberties and independence; yet, as I am apprehensive, the prosperous issue of the combined operation in Virginia, may have (as is too common in such cases) the pernicious tendency of lulling the country into lethargy of inactivity and security; and as I feel my own reputation, as well as the interest, the honor, the glory, and happiness of my country is intimately concerned in the event, I will ask the indulgence to speak the more freely on those accounts, and to make some of the observations which the present moment seems to suggest, — that the broken and perplexed state of the enemy's affairs, and the successes of the last campaign on our part, ought to be a powerful incitement to vigorous preparations for the next; that unless we strenuously exert ourselves to profit by these successes, we shall not only lose all the solid advantages that might be derived from them, but we shall become contemptible in our own eyes, in the eyes of the enemy, in the opinion of posterity, — and even in the estimation of the whole world, which will consider us as a nation unworthy of prosperity, because we know not how to make a right use of it; that, although we cannot by the best concerted plans absolutely command success, although the race is not always to the swift or the battle to the strong, yet, without presumptuously waiting for miracles to be wrought in our favor, it is our *indispensable duty*, with the deepest gratitude to Heaven for the past and humble confidence in its smiles on our future opera-

tions, to make use of all the means in our power for our defence and security; that this period is particularly important, because no circumstances since the commencement of the war have been so favorable to the recruiting service as the present, and because it is to be presumed from the increase of population and the brilliant prospects before us, it is actually in our power to complete the army before the opening of the campaign; that however flattering these prospects may be, much still remains to be done, which cannot probably be effected unless the army is recruited to its establishment, and consequently the continuance or termination of the war seems principally to rest on the vigor and decision of the States in this interesting point; and finally, that it is our first object of policy, under every supposable or possible case, to have a powerful army early in the field; for we must suppose the enemy are either disposed "to prosecute the war" or "enter into a negotiation for peace,"— there is no other alternative. On the former supposition, a respectable army becomes necessary to counteract the enemy, and to prevent the accumulating expenses of a lingering war; on the latter, nothing but a decidedly superior force can enable us boldly to claim our rights, and dictate the law at the pacification. So that, whatever the disposition of the enemy may be, it is evidently our only interest and economy to act liberally, and exert ourselves greatly during the present winter to cut off all the expenses of the war at once, by putting a period to it.

And soon might we hope to enjoy all the blessings of peace, if we could see again the same animation in the cause of our country inspire every breast, the same passion for freedom and military glory impel our youths to the field, and the same disinterested patriotism pervade every rank of men, as was conspicuous at the commencement of this glorious revolution; and I am persuaded only some great occasion was wanting, such as the present

moment exhibits, to rekindle the latent sparks of that patriotic fire into a generous flame, to rouse again the unconquerable spirit of liberty, which has sometimes seemed to slumber awhile, into the full vigor of action.

I cannot now conclude this letter without expressing my full expectation that the several States, animated with the noblest principles and convinced of the policy of complying faithfully with the requisitions, will be only emulous which shall be the foremost in furnishing its quota of men; that the calculation of the numbers wanted to fill the deficiencies may be so ample as (allowing for all the casualties and deductions) will be sufficient certainly to complete the battalions; that the measures for this purpose may be so explicit, pointed, and energetic, as will inevitably furnish the recruits in season; and that such checks may be established to prevent imposition as to the quality of the men, that no recruits may be accepted but those who are in fact able-bodied and effective. Should any of a different description be sent to the army, they must be rejected, the expenses thrown away, and the service injured, though others are required to fill their places; for it is only deceiving ourselves with having a nominal instead of a real force, and consuming the public provisions and clothing to no effect, by attempting to impose decrepit and improper men or boys upon us as soldiers.

The returns before alluded to being but this moment collected, I regret that it was not possible they should have been forwarded sooner. To prevent miscarriage or delay in so important a communication, I have committed them to Brigadier-General Huntington, who will have the honor of delivering these despatches and explaining my ideas very perfectly. As he is charged solely with this business, he will return as soon as it is negotiated; but he is instructed to wait until he can bear such official accounts from your Excellency to me as will fully inform

me what aid may absolutely be relied upon from your State, which in conjunction with the other reports of a similar nature must serve as a basis on which we may build our final plans and arrangements for the ensuing campaign.

I have the honor to be,

With great respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

G° Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

(Circular.)

Headquarters, Philadelphia,
March 5th, 1782.

Sir, — The operations of next campaign being contingent, depending in a great degree upon measures which are not within my control, and very much upon the plans of the enemy and their efforts to carry them into execution, it is impossible for me, at this time, to say whether any, or how many militia the States in this part of the Continent may be called upon to furnish for the purposes of the ensuing campaign; but as I am persuaded myself it is the wish of every one of them to see a vigorous offensive plan prosecuted, with a view of terminating the war honorably and speedily, it becomes my duty to inform, that the Continental force (admitting the battalions should be completed), aided by any auxiliary troops that I have any expectations of, is totally inadequate to the first and great *object* which presents itself to our view; and therefore it may be essential to my future plans that the Executive powers of the States should be (if they are not so already) vested with sufficient authority to call forth, properly equipped, such a body of militia as the exigencies of service may require. The demand will not be made but in case of necessity, and will be postponed

as long as possible; the consequence therefore of the want of such powers, or of the delay occasioned by calling an assembly on such an emergency, might prove fatal to our operations and injurious to our cause.

I need not add how much it is my wish and desire, and how much the public interest will be promoted by it, that the Continental regiments should be completed. Every man of which these are deficient will add to the draft of militia, and doubly to the public expenses; while these troops will not be so competent to the purposes for which they are wanted, to say nothing of the disadvantages which agriculture and manufactures will sustain by having the laborers and artisans called off from their work.

I would beg leave to suggest that the longer term militia can be drawn out for, the more beneficial and less expensive will their services be; and that in case of a siege, they ought to be engaged during the continuance of it, or until relieved by an equal number, so that the operating strength may not be diminished at a critical moment, when it may be most wanted.

I have the honor to be,

With perfect respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

G°. Washington.

P. S. I have had the honor to receive your Excellency's letter of the 21st February, 1782.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.[1]

(Circular.)

Headquarters, Newburgh,
4th May, 1782.

Sir, — I find myself arrived at that period at which I hoped to have seen the battalions of the several States

[1] This letter, except the last paragraph before postscript, is the same as one printed in Sparks's Writings of Washington, viii. 283, addressed to Meshech Weare. — Eds.

completed to their full establishment, in conformity to the requisitions of Congress of the 19th of December last.

The enclosed return of recruits, which I have caused to be made out to the 1st instant, will show how totally short of my expectations the exertions of the States have fallen; from your State only eight recruits have joined the army in consequence of the above requisition.

All my accounts from Europe concur in declaring that it is the determination of the British King and Ministry still to prosecute the war. It becomes therefore our decided duty to be prepared to meet these hostile intentions, in whatever way they are to be carried into execution; to do which our utmost exertions will be necessary. You will suffer me, sir, to entreat that if your State have any expectations from the military operations of this season, not another moment may be lost in providing for and carrying into execution the full completion of their battalions. It is scarcely necessary to inform you that on this expectation all my calculations must be formed, and on this event must rest the hopes of the ensuing campaign.

My intelligence of the actual aid we may expect from our allies is not yet so explicit as will lead me to decide absolutely on the mode of operations for the campaign. But were our expectations of support from that quarter ever so promising, yet from the negligence and languor of the States, from whence our exertions are to spring, I am not enabled to give any assurance of our being prepared to co-operate with our allies in any great objects equal to their expectations, or our own ability. I am sorry to acquaint your Excellency that I have the best authority to assure you that the Court of France is much dissatisfied with this want of vigor and exertion in the States, and with that disposition which appears willing at least, if not desirous, to cast all the burden of the American war upon them. Waiving the injustice and impolicy of such conduct (which to me appear very conspicuous),

how humiliating is the idea that we should rest our dependence for support upon others, beyond that point which absolute necessity dictates; how discouraging to our allies, and how dishonorable to ourselves must be our want of vigor and exertion, — at a time especially, when, if not wanting to ourselves, our prospects are the fairest that our wishes could extend to!

I find from the proceedings of the several States that their calculation of deficiencies, formed on application to the respective towns which furnish the men, are greatly different from the returns from the army. I forbear mentioning many reasons which might be assigned to produce this difference, and which in my opinion originate principally within the States, and will content myself with this one observation, that should the States deceive themselves in this respect, and fail to furnish the expected force in the field, they will not only throw an essential injury upon the army, but the unhappy consequences of a failure of military operations will reverberate upon themselves, whilst recrimination can have no effect towards alleviating our protracted misfortunes and distress.

Although money matters are not within my line, yet as they are so intimately connected with all military operations, and being lately informed by the Financier, in answer to some small requisition upon him, that he has not yet received one penny in money from any one State upon the requisition of Congress for the 8,000,000 of dollars; but that on the contrary some of the States are devising ways to draw from him the small sums he has been able otherwise to establish, and that he is at this time barely able to *feed* the army only, and that from hand to mouth, I cannot but express to you my apprehensions from that quarter, and to urge with all the warmth of zeal and earnestness the most pointed and effectual attention of your State to the actual raising and collecting their proportion of the mentioned requisition.

Upon the present plan of non-compliance with requisitions for men and supplies, let me seriously ask your Excellency, — How is it possible for us to continue the war? How is it possible to support an army in money and recruits? To what a wretched state must we soon be reduced? How dangerous is it to suffer our affairs to run at hazard, and to depend upon contingencies? To what do the present measures tend, but to the utter ruin of that cause which we have hitherto so long and nobly supported, and to crush all the fair hopes, which, were we only to exert the power and abilities which Providence hath bountifully placed in our reach, are now in our view? But if the States will not impose, or do not collect and apply taxes for support of the war, the sooner we make terms the better; the longer we continue a feeble and ineffectual war the greater will be our distress at the hour of submission. For my own part I am fully persuaded that without the *means* of execution, no officer, whoever he may be, who is placed at the head of the military department, can be answerable for the success of any plans he may propose or agree to.

Upon this subject, I will only add, that from past experience and from present prospects, I am of opinion that if the States would furnish the supplies agreeable to the late requisitions, and would suffer the pay, clothing, and subsistence of the army to go through one common channel, that two thirds of their former expenses would be saved; at the same time that many partialities, discontents, and jealousies which now subsist would be removed and subside, and an establishment of order, regularity, and harmony in our general affairs would be experienced, which cannot arise from the present disjointed and different systems of finance adopted by separate States.

While acting in my military capacity I am sensible of the impropriety of stepping into the line of civil polity. My anxiety for the general good, and an earnest desire

to bring this long protracted war to a happy issue, when I hope to retire to that peaceful state of domestic pleasures, from which the call of my country has brought me to take an active part, and to which I most ardently wish a speedy return, I hope will furnish my excuse with your Excellency and Legislature, while I request your pardon for this trespass.

If I should have occasion for the militia of your State, the call will be sudden, and their movements must be rapid; otherwise great expense will accrue, and only disgrace and disappointment will ensue. For these reasons, I beg leave to recall your Excellency's attention to my letter of the 5th of March last, and to pray most earnestly that every previous arrangement may be taken to facilitate their march when requested.

With great respect and esteem,

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

G$^{o}$. Washington.

P. S. 8th May, 1782. Since writing the above, I have been furnished with sundry English and New York papers, containing the last intelligence from England, with the debates in both Houses of Parliament upon several motions made respecting the American war. Least your Excellency may not have had so full a sight of these papers as I have, I take the liberty to mention that I have perused these debates with great care and attention, with a view if possible to penetrate their real design; and upon the most mature deliberation I can bestow, I am obliged to declare it as my candid opinion that the measure in all its views, so far as it respects America, is merely delusory, having no serious intention to admit our Independence upon its true principles, but is calculated to produce a change of ministers, to quiet the minds of their own people, and reconcile them to a

continuance of the war; while it is meant to amuse this country with a false idea of peace, to draw us off from our connection with France, and to lull us into a state of security and inactivity, — which taking place, the Ministry will be left to prosecute the war in other parts of the world with greater vigor and effect.

Your Excellency will permit me on this occasion to observe, that even if the nation and Parliament are really in earnest to obtain peace with America, it will undoubtedly be wisdom in us to meet them with great caution and circumspection, and by all means to keep our arms firm in our hands, and instead of relaxing one iota in our exertions rather to spring forward with redoubled vigor, that we may take advantage of every favorable opportunity, until our wishes are fully obtained. No nation yet suffered in treaty by preparing most vigorously for the field.

The industry which the enemy are using to propagate these pacific reports appears to me a circumstance very suspicious, and the eagerness with which the people, as I am informed, are catching at them is in my opinion equally dangerous.

I am as above,

G°. Washington.

Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.[1]

Headquarters, 8th May, 1782.

Sir, — I had the honor to receive your Excellency's favor of the 24th of April, enclosing a copy of your letter to Congress on the subject of American prisoners confined in England, with your sentiments on the necessity of retaliation.

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[1] This letter, except the last two paragraphs, is printed in Sparks's Writings of Washington, viii. 292, with a few verbal changes. — Eds.

I am sorry to inform your Excellency that a meeting of Commissioners which had among other matters been concerted for the purposes of a general exchange, comprehending that of a release of our countrymen prisoners in Europe, as well as others, has been unhappily dissolved without effecting any one of those benevolent purposes, which, on our part, were the objects of their mission. This circumstance, I fear, will place any future exchanges at a great distance; no means however in my power will be omitted to effect so desirable an event.

I have the honor to concur fully with your Excellency on the subject of retaliation, and inform that the circumstances attending the death of Captain Huddy are like to bring that object to a point. A demand hath been made by me for the perpetrators of that horrid deed; the reply to this demand received from General Robertson is not satisfactory. I have informed him therefore that orders are given to designate by lot a British officer of the rank of Captain Huddy, for retaliation; that the time and place of his execution are fixed; and that nothing can stay my resolution from being carried into complete effect but a strict compliance to my first request. I expect General Robertson's next answer will bring this ungrateful business to an issue.

I am much obliged by your hint respecting the powder; General Knox, in whose department it is, shall be informed, when he arrives from Philadelphia.

If the demands of the campaign, which is not yet fully decided, shall require the powder of your State, it will be thankfully received.

With great sincerity of respect and esteem,

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

G°. WASHINGTON.

GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

## * WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

HEADQUARTERS, NEWBURGH,
May 10th, 1782.

SIR, — I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency the copy of a letter of this date to Colonel Canfield, prohibiting the practice of sending flags from, or receiving them at any place except the post of Dobbs Ferry. This I thought essentially necessary for many reasons, which I doubt not will occur to your Excellency, and therefore request your aid in carrying the measure into effect, and that you will be pleased to communicate your orders to all persons who may have occasion to be acquainted with the matter in the State over which you preside.

Orders similar to those of Colonel Canfield are given to all the officers commanding on the lines, in the several States contiguous to posts occupied by the British; which I shall cause to be rigidly obeyed; and shall hope for the concurrence of the civil power in preventing all other intercourse with the enemy as far as possibly can be done.

I have the honor to be,
With great esteem and respect,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
G°. WASHINGTON.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

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## WASHINGTON TO COLONEL CANFIELD, OR OFFICER COMMANDING STATE TROOPS OF CONNECTICUT.[1]

HEADQUARTERS, NEWBURGH,
10th May, 1782.

SIR, — I have given the most peremptory orders that no flag from the enemy shall be received at any other

[1] This letter appears to be the enclosure referred to in the previous letter to Governor Trumbull. — EDS.

place or post but Dobbs Ferry, on any business or pretext whatever; and that no flag from us to them shall, for any reason however pressing, be permitted to pass to the enemy's lines but from the same place.

You will take measures for carrying this order *effectually* into execution, so far as relates to the posts within the limits of your command, and the places at and from which flags have been sent and received, by immediately putting in arrest any officer who shall presume to contravene the intention of this order on our side; and by detaining as prisoners any persons who may come from the enemy with flags, after this regulation has been announced in such a manner as that the British Commander in Chief may give his directions for the prevention of this practice in future. I have written to Sir Guy Carleton on the subject, and presume the letter will reach him by the time this is handed to you.

A copy of this is also communicated to Governor Trumbull, whose concurrence and assistance on this occasion I have solicited.

I am, sir, your, &c.

(Signed) G°. Washington.

To Colonel Canfield, or Officer commanding the State Troops of Connecticut.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, 29th May, 1782.

Sir, — I have been honored with your two letters of the 21st and 23d of this month.

Your Excellency's reply to Dean's letter I read with great satisfaction; and this pleasure was heightened by finding that it contained not only your own sentiments, but also conveys the sense of the legislative body of your State. From a variety of circumstances I view the

present as the most critical moment that we have almost ever experienced throughout the present contest.

I am very sorry not to have it in my power to comply with your Excellency's request for a small invalid guard for New Gate prison. I assure you, sir, that, in present circumstances and with present prospects, I must estimate every invalid (capable of any service) as a good man, and keep them on constant duty.

With great regard and esteem, I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

(Duplicate.)

Headquarters, 3d July, 1782.

Sir, — I am honored with your Excellency's letter of the 21st of June.

Captain Johnson, who was the bearer of it, had permission granted to him to go to the enemy's lines for the purpose of carrying money to the prisoners.

That your Excellency may be fully informed on what footing the exchange of naval prisoners now stands, I have directed the Commissary of Prisoners to report to you what he has done in that business. Not having any agency in the exchange of naval prisoners, I cannot give the directions your Excellency requests; and indeed, was this not the case, I should be extremely unwilling to give any sanction to partial exchanges, it having been always my opinion that this business should be conducted on a more general scale: the irregular and partial mode that has been adopted has been pregnant with many evils.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

30th July, 1782.

Sir, — The foregoing was put into the Post Office agreeable to its date, to be conveyed to your Excellency, but through the inattention of the Postmaster was made up in the Southern mail; and on its return from Philadelphia by the Eastern post, was captured with his mail and carried into New York, — which forms a necessity for transmitting this duplicate.

With great regard and esteem, I have the honor to be,
Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
Gº. Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, 13th November, 1782.

Sir, — I do myself the honor to enclose you the extract of a letter which I have lately received from his Excellency the Minister of France, on the subject of the amazing quantities of provisions which the enemy draw from the States contiguous to New York. The evil complained of has been long growing, and has at length arisen to a height truly alarming. I persuade myself no arguments will be wanting to induce the Legislature of your State, at their next sitting, to pay that attention to the matter which its importance deserves.

I have ever been of opinion, and every day's experience convinces me more and more of the truth of it, that nothing short of laws making the supply of the enemy with provisions or stores, or holding any kind of illicit intercourse with them, felony of death, will check the evil so justly complained of. A moment's reflection must convince every thinking mind, that four such armies as I command would be inadequate to the purpose. The attempt by military coercion alone might prove ruinous.

For to guard the immense length of communication from the coast of Monmouth in Jersey eastward, would so dissipate my force, that every detachment would invite and be at the mercy of the enemy. This observation is too striking to need urging, and shows in the clearest point of view that rigid laws, rigidly executed, are the only remedies that can be applied, next to a sufficient force to invest the enemy in their post of New York.

I have the honor to be, with respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

G°. Washington.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, January 14th, 1783.

Sir, — I enclose a letter from Major Tallmadge to your Excellency, which came under a flying seal to my hands; the observations contained in it appear to be highly worthy of consideration.

The importance of absolutely cutting off all manner of commerce and illicit intercourse with the enemy is so great, and at the same time so obvious, that I conceive it only necessary to recommend the subject without enlarging upon it, in order to engage your Excellency to use your utmost endeavors to effect a purpose of such interesting consequence to the public.

I have the honor to be, with perfect respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

G°. Washington.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

Headquarters, 5th March, 1783.

Sir, — I have been honored with your Excellency's letter of the 24th of February.

Circumstanced as our affairs are, it is impracticable for me to comply with your request for a body of Continental troops to be stationed at Stamford; some aid, however, may be given to your State troops, by the countenance and increase of our marching parties, who are patrolling on the lines, and may extend as far as the Sound. I will give orders for this purpose, and will direct the officers on that command to hold communication with Colonel Canfield, or other commanding officer of the State troops; who may afford them all the necessary assistance in their power, as circumstances may require.

On this occasion, I cannot omit to mention to your Excellency, that I am informed of a very unwarrantable trade and intercourse with the enemy from the western shores of your State; particularly in transporting across the Sound great quantities of provisions,—meat and bread in open day, without interruption; and that, as I am told, almost under the eye of the officers and troops stationed in that quarter; in which business, it is to be feared, your commissioned boats and vessels are not exempted from bearing a part. Are there no practicable means of preventing these shameful abuses, or is the measure tolerated by the State?

The frequent indulgences given, as I am informed, to flags to pass in the Sound to and from New York, in a great measure serve not only to frustrate those beneficial effects I expected to experience from fixing on Dobbs Ferry as the only place of intercourse of that kind with the enemy, but are, I fancy, prostituted to the vile purposes of extending that illicit trade and communication with them, which, in my opinion, it should be the care of the States to prevent by every possible means.

I have the honor to be,

With high regard and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

His Excellency Governor Trumbull. G°. Washington.

* WASHINGTON TO TRUMBULL.

(Circular.)

Headquarters, April 14th, 1783.

Sir, — Previous to the disbanding the army, — an event which, it is to be wished, may take place with as much ease and satisfaction as circumstances will admit, — Congress have directed that a complete settlement and liquidation of all their accounts shall be made. To effect this the Paymaster-General is arrived, with full instructions to enter immediately upon the settlement, and to complete it as soon as possible. In performing this duty he informs me that recourse must be had to the several States for their accounts (if they have any) against their respective lines. This requisition probably may have been, or will be, made by Mr. Morris. But as I consider it of the utmost importance both for the ease and quiet of the army, as well as in point of economy to the public, that this business should be effected with all the despatch that it is possible to give it, I have procured from the Paymaster-General the enclosed minutes of what he judges necessary to obtain from the States, as part of the ground of his settlement; which I take the liberty to transmit to your Excellency, with my most earnest request that you will be pleased to give directions that the earliest attention may be given to forward, without the least delay, to Mr. Pierce, Paymaster-General, whatever information, accounts, or papers shall on examination of his minutes be found necessary, together with any other papers, or documents, which may be thought proper from your State, to effect the settlement proposed.

I have taken this liberty the rather, as it is judged that, on a supposition of the utmost despatch in the States, the greatest delay in completing this very important settlement will most probably arise from the time necessary to obtain their accounts.

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

His Excellency Governor Trumbull. G° Washington.

## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

HARTFORD, 17th May, 1783.

SIR, — I duly received your letter relative to a speedy settlement with the army, enclosing queries by the Paymaster-General.

I sent immediately a copy of the queries to the Committee of Pay Table, with directions to answer the same as soon as possible.

At the opening of the present session of the General Assembly the same was laid before them. Measures are taken to procure every necessary document for a speedy settlement. An early discharge of the army is expected. And 't is hoped there will be no failure on the part of this State.

I do most sincerely congratulate you on the important event of the cessation of hostilities, and ardently wish for the arrival of the definitive treaty.

With every sentiment of esteem, gratitude, and consideration,

I have the honor to be,
Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

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## TRUMBULL TO WASHINGTON.

LEBANON, 10th June, 1783.

SIR, — I have the honor to transmit the resolve of the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, acknowledging the receipt of your favor of June, 1783, and testifying the high sense they entertain of your exalted merits, and their obligations to you and your patriot army (through the blessing of Heaven) for the establishment of freedom, independence, and peace.

Permit me to address your Excellency on the pathetic manner you take leave of myself, and the State over which I have the honor to preside; to assure you how great pleasure and satisfaction we have enjoyed, in the wisdom, magnanimity, and skill shown in forming, disciplining, and conducting the army of the United States to so glorious an event; and also in the patriotic virtue displayed in this last address, which exhibits the foundation principles so necessary to be freely and fully inculcated, and appear to be the interest of all to agree in and pursue,—to maintain and support an indissoluble union of the States, under one federal head, a sacred regard to public justice, a proper peace establishment, and a pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States; to exhibit and maintain a good character for wisdom, honesty, firmness, and benevolence. How pleasing the national prospect! How critical the present moments! Moderation, patience, and diligence are required to calm the public mind so variously agitated by prejudice, passion, and popular sinister designs. We have the consolation, *That the Lord reigns*. Tranquillity and happiness will be disturbed during the tumult. God grant that it may soon subside!

In your retirement, my earnest prayer is that every temporal and heavenly blessing may attend you. I cannot persuade myself that the calls of the country will suffer so exalted a character and benevolent mind to withdraw from employment for the public good; although it is your wish.

With every sentiment of regard, gratitude, and esteem,
I have the honor to be
Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,
JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

# LETTERS

OF

## JOHN HANCOCK, JOSEPH WARREN, THOMAS GAGE, JAMES WARREN, AND GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Taken from the Trumbull Papers.

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### JOHN HANCOCK TO THE GOVERNOR AND CO. OF CONNECTICUT.

In Provincial Congress, Concord,
April 10th, 1775.

Gentlemen, — In consideration of the measures that have been taken for years past by the British Administration, to subjugate the North American Colonies, the rapidity with which their plans have hitherto been executed, the late very alarming intelligence from Great Britain, the false and inflammatory accounts that have been laid before our Sovereign and his Parliament, to induce them to consider this Colony in a state of rebellion, and our sister Colonies as countenancing us therein, and the violent measures that are ordered in consequence thereof, together with the daily and hourly preparations that are making by the troops under the command of General Gage in Boston, — this Congress have come to a full conclusion, that very little if any expectation of the redress of our common and intolerable grievances is to be had from the humble and dutiful petition, and other wise measures, of the late Honorable Continental Congress; and therefore have come into

certain resolutions to be communicated to you by delegates appointed for that purpose, in which they are earnestly desirous of the concurrence of your Colony.

Wishing that the American Colonies may, at this important crisis, be under the direction and blessing of Heaven, I am, in the name and by order of this Congress,

Gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*

THE HONORABLE THE GOVERNOR AND CO. OF CONNECTICUT.

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## JOSEPH WARREN TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

CAMBRIDGE, April 22, 1775.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR, — On Wednesday the 19th instant, early in the morning, a brigade of General Gage's army marched into the country to Lexington, about twelve miles from Boston, where they met with a small party of minute men exercising, who had no intentions of injuring the King's troops, but they fired upon our men, without any provocation, killed eight of them the first onset, then marched forward to Concord, where they destroyed the magazine and stores for a considerable time; our people, however, mustered as soon as possible, and repulsed the troops, pursuing them quite down to Charlestown, until they reached a place called Bunker's Hill, — although they received a very large reinforcement from General Gage. As the troops have now commenced hostilities, we think it our duty to exert our utmost strength to save our country from absolute slavery. We pray your Honor will afford us all the assistance in your power. We should be glad that our brethren who come to our aid may be supplied with military stores and provisions, as we have none of either more than are absolutely necessary for ourselves. We

pray God to direct you to such measures as shall tend to the salvation of our common liberties.

By order of the Committee of Safety,

Jos. Warren, *Chairman.*

Honorable J. Trumbull, Esq.

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## JOSEPH WARREN TO THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF CONNECTICUT.

In Provincial Congress, Watertown, April 23d, 1775.

Gentlemen, — Before this letter can reach you, we doubt not you have been sufficiently certified of the late alarming resolutions of the British Parliament, wherein we see ourselves declared rebels, and all our sister Colonies in New England, in common with us, marked out for the severest punishment. In consequence thereof General Gage has suddenly commenced hostilities, by a large body of troops under his command secretly detached in the night of the 18th instant, which on the morning ensuing had actually begun the slaughter of the innocent inhabitants in the very heart of the country, before any intentions of that kind were suspected; and although the roused virtue of our brethren in the neighborhood soon compelled them to a precipitate retreat, they marked their savage rout with depredations, ruins, and butcheries hardly to be matched by the armies of any civilized nation on the globe.

Justly alarmed by these manœuvres, vast multitudes of the good people of this and the neighboring Colonies are now assembled in the vicinity of Boston, for the protection of the country. The gates of that devoted town are shut, the miserable inhabitants pent up there with a licentious soldiery as in one common prison; large reinforcements of the troops under General Gage are hourly

expected; and no reason is left to doubt that this whole force, as soon as collected, will be employed for the destruction, first of this, and then of the neighboring Colonies engaged in the same interesting cause, and that all America will be speedily reduced to the most abject slavery unless it be immediately defended by arms.

Unavoidably reduced to this necessity by circumstances that will justify us before God and the impartial world, this Congress, after solemn deliberation and application to Heaven for direction in the case, have this day unanimously resolved that it is our duty immediately to establish an army for the maintenance of the most invaluable rights of human nature, and the immediate defence of this Colony where the first attack is made; that thirty thousand men are necessary to be forthwith raised in the New England Colonies for that purpose, and that of that force 13,600 shall be established by this Colony without delay.

We have not a doubt of the virtue of the Colony of Connecticut, no less engaged than ourselves in the glorious cause at stake, and equally involved in the miseries that must ensue, should it be lost. In testimony of our reliance on you, we have sent this express to give you the earliest notice of these resolutions, and the circumstances that have necessitated them, and earnestly to request your speediest concurrence, and such assistance in this most important cause as the present urgent necessity requires, and the many former evidences we have had of the spirit and firmness of the Colony of Connecticut give us the highest reason to expect.

We are, gentlemen,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

Jos. Warren, *President pro tem.*

P. S. The great confusions in this Colony prevent our being able to send with this letter such depositions as

might give full and particular information of the facts above referred to; but measures are taken for that purpose, and we shall not fail to transmit the result of them by the first opportunity.

To the Governor and Company of Connecticut.

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## JOSEPH WARREN TO THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF CONNECTICUT.

In Committee of Safety, at Cambridge,
April 26, 1775.

Gentlemen, — The distressed situation in which we are, and the danger to which the liberties of all America, and especially the New England Colonies, are exposed, will be the best apology for our importunate application to you for immediate assistance. We pray, as you regard the safety of your country, that as large a number of troops as you can spare may immediately march forward, well stocked with provisions and ammunition; that they come under proper officers, enlisted for such time as is necessary; that as large a train of artillery as can be procured be sent down to our aid. We rely greatly upon you, as we know the bravery of your men. Our men have behaved with the utmost resolution; but as many of them came far from home without any preparation, it is impossible to keep them in the field, without allowing many of them time to return to their families for one or two days, during which time we may possibly be all cut off, as we have a powerful and watchful enemy to deal with. We are far from despairing. We firmly trust that, by the blessing of Heaven on us, we shall deliver our country. We are determined, at all events, to act our parts with firmness and intrepidity, knowing that slavery is far worse than death. We pray that our sister Connecticut

would immediately put in for a share of honor of saving the liberties of America, as a moment lost may never be recalled.

May God direct you and us at this important moment, on which the fate of us and posterity depends.

We are, gentlemen,

With great affection and respect,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

Jos. Warren, *Chairman.*

Governor and Company of Connecticut.

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## GOVERNOR TRUMBULL TO GENERAL THOMAS GAGE.

Hartford, 28th April, 1775.

Sir, — The alarming situation of public affairs in this country, and the late unfortunate transactions in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, have induced the General Assembly of this Colony now sitting in this place to appoint a committee of their body to wait upon your Excellency, and to desire me, in their name, to write to you relative to these very interesting matters.

The inhabitants of this Colony are intimately connected with the people of your Province, and esteem themselves bound by the strongest ties of friendship, as well as common interest, to regard with attention whatever concerns them.

You will not therefore be surprised that your first arrival at Boston with a body of his Majesty's Troops, for the declared purpose of carrying into execution certain Acts of Parliament which, in their apprehension, were unconstitutional and oppressive, should have given the good people of this Colony a very just and general alarm. Your subsequent proceedings in fortifying the town of Boston, and other military preparations, greatly increased

their apprehensions for the safety of their friends and brethren; they could not be unconcerned spectators of their sufferings, in that which they esteemed the common cause of this country; but the late hostile and secret inroads of some of the troops under your command into the heart of the country, and the violences they have committed, have driven them almost to a state of desperation; they feel now, not only for their friends, but for themselves and their dearest interests and connections. We wish not to exaggerate; we are not sure of every part of our information, but by the best intelligence that we have yet been able to obtain, the late transaction was a most unprovoked attack upon the lives and property of His Majesty's subjects, and it is represented to us that such outrages have been committed as would disgrace even barbarians, and much more Britons, so highly famed for humanity as well as bravery. It is feared, therefore, that we are devoted to destruction, and that you have it in command and intention to ravage and desolate the country. If this is not the case, permit us to ask, why have these outrages been committed? Why is the town of Boston now shut up? To what end are all the hostile preparations that are daily making? And why do we daily hear of fresh destinations of troops to this country? The people of this Colony, you may rely upon it, abhor the idea of taking arms against the troops of their Sovereign, and dread nothing so much as the horrors of a civil war; but, sir, at the same time we beg leave to assure your Excellency that, as they apprehend themselves justified by the principle of self-defence, they are most firmly resolved to defend their rights and privileges to the last extremity; nor will they be restrained from giving aid to their brethren if any unjustifiable attack is made upon them. Be so good, therefore, as to explain yourself upon this most important subject, so far as is consistent with your duty to our common sovereign. Is

there no way to prevent this unhappy dispute from coming to extremities? Is there no alternative but absolute submission, or the desolations of war? By that humanity which constitutes so amiable a part of your character, and for the honor of our Sovereign, and by the glory of the British empire, we entreat you to prevent it if possible. Surely it is to be hoped that the temperate wisdom of the empire might even yet find expedients to restore peace, that so all parts of the empire may enjoy their particular rights, honors, and immunities. Certainly this is an event most devoutly to be wished; and will it not be consistent with your duty to suspend the operations of war on your part, and enable us on ours to quiet the minds of the people, at least till the result of some further deliberations may be known? The importance of the occasion will, no doubt, sufficiently apologize for the earnestness with which we address you, and any seeming impropriety which may attend it, as well as induce you to give us the most explicit and favorable answer in your power.

I am, with great esteem and respect,

In behalf of the General Assembly, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

His Excellency Thos. Gage, Esq.

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## ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

*From the Minutes of Provincial Congress of Massachusetts.*

In Provincial Congress, Watertown,
April 26th, 1775.

*To the Inhabitants of Great Britain:*

Friends and Fellow-Subjects, — Hostilities are at length commenced in this Colony by the troops under command of General Gage; and it being of the greatest

importance that an early, true, and authentic account of this inhuman proceeding should be known to you, the Congress of this Colony have transmitted the same, and from want of a session of the Honorable Continental Congress, think it proper to address you on the alarming occasion.

By the clearest depositions relative to this transaction, it will appear that on the night preceding the 19th of April instant, a body of the King's troops, under command of Colonel Smith, were secretly landed at Cambridge, with an apparent design to take or destroy the military and other stores provided for the defence of this Colony, and deposited at Concord; that some inhabitants of the Colony, on the night aforesaid, whilst travelling peaceably on the road between Boston and Concord, were seized and greatly abused by armed men, who appeared to be officers of General Gage's army; that the town of Lexington by these means was alarmed, and a company of the inhabitants mustered on the occasion; that the Regular troops, on their way to Concord, marched into the said town of Lexington, and the said company on their approach began to disperse; that, notwithstanding this, the Regulars rushed on with great violence, and first began hostilities by firing on said Lexington company, whereby they killed eight and wounded several others; that the Regulars continued their fire until those of said company, who were neither killed nor wounded, had made their escape; that Colonel Smith, with the detachment, then marched to Concord, where a number of Provincials were again fired on by the troops, two of them killed and several wounded, before the former fired on them; and that these hostile measures of the troops produced an engagement that lasted through the day, in which many of the Provincials, and more of the Regular troops were killed and wounded.

To give a particular account of the ravages of the troops as they retreated from Concord to Charlestown, would be very difficult, if not impracticable; let it suffice to say, that a great number of the houses on the road were plundered and rendered unfit for use; several were burnt; women in child-bed were driven by the soldiery naked into the street; old men, peaceably in their houses, were shot dead, and such scenes exhibited as would disgrace the annals of the most uncivilized nations. These, brethren, are marks of ministerial vengeance against this Colony for refusing, with her sister Colonies, a submission to slavery, but they have not yet detached us from our royal Sovereign. We profess to be his loyal and dutiful subjects, and, so hardly dealt with as we have been, are still ready, with our lives and fortunes, to defend his person, family, crown, and dignity. Nevertheless, to the persecution and tyranny of his cruel ministry, we will not tamely submit; appealing to Heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free. We cannot think that the honor, wisdom, and valor of Britons will suffer them to be longer inactive spectators of measures in which themselves are so deeply interested, — measures pursued in opposition to the solemn protests of many noble lords, and expressed sense of conspicuous commoners, whose knowledge and virtue have long characterized them as some of the greatest men in the nation; measures executing contrary to the interest, petitions, and resolves of many large, respectable, and opulent counties, cities, and boroughs in Great Britain; measures highly incompatible with justice, but still pursued with a specious pretence of easing the nation of its burdens; measures which, if successful, must end in the ruin and slavery of Britain, as well as the persecuted American Colonies.

We sincerely hope that the Great Sovereign of the universe, who hath so often appeared for the English

nation, will support you in every rational and manly exertion with these Colonies for saving it from ruin, and that in a constitutional connection with our mother country, we shall soon be altogether a free and happy people.

Jos. Warren, *President pro tem.*

*A true extract from the Minutes.*

Sam[l] Freeman, *Secretary pro tem.*

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JOSEPH WARREN TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

In Provincial Congress, Watertown,
April 26th, 1775.

Sir, — From the entire confidence we repose in your faithfulness and abilities, we consider it the happiness of this Colony, that the important trust of agency for it in this day of unequalled distress is devolved on your hands, and we doubt not your attachment to the cause of the liberties of mankind will make every possible exertion in our behalf a pleasure to you, although our circumstances will compel us often to interrupt your repose by matters that will surely give you pain. A singular instance hereof is the occasion of this letter; the contents of this packet will be our apology for troubling you with it; by these you will see how and by whom we are at last plunged into the horrors of a most unnatural war. Our enemies, we are told, have despatched to Great Britain a fallacious account of the tragedy they have begun; to prevent the operation of which to the public injury, we have engaged the vessel that conveys this to you, as a packet in the service of this Colony, and we request your assistance in supplying Captain Derby, who commands her, with such necessaries as he shall want, on the credit of your constituents in Massachusetts Bay.

But we most ardently wish that the several papers herewith enclosed may be immediately printed and dis-

persed through every town in England, and especially communicated to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the city of London, that they may take such order thereon as they may think proper; and we are confident your fidelity will make such improvement of them as shall convince all who are not determined to be in everlasting blindness, that it is the united efforts of both Englands that must save either; but that whatever price our brethren in the *one* may be pleased to put on their constitutional liberties, we are authorized to say that the inhabitants of the *other*, with the greatest unanimity, are inflexibly resolved to sell theirs only at the price of their lives.

JOS. WARREN, *President pro tem.*

TO THE HONORABLE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, ESQ., LONDON.

*A true copy.*

Attest SAM[L] FREEMAN, *Secretary pro tem.*

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## EXTRACT FROM MINUTES OF PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, WATERTOWN, April 29, 1775.

Whereas, the reducing of the several regiments to be raised in the Provincial service from one thousand men in a regiment to five hundred and ninety, makes the service of the field officers of said regiment less burdensome; therefore *Resolved*, That the pay of said field officers be reduced one fifth part from the first establishment, and that said field officers' pay in said service of this Province to the last day of December next, unless dismissed before, shall be as follows, namely, a colonel's pay, twelve pounds per month; a lieutenant-colonel's pay, nine pounds twelve shillings per month; a major's pay, eight pounds per month.

JOS. WARREN, *President pro tem.*

Attest SAM[L] FREEMAN, *Secretary pro tem.*

DOCUMENT SENT TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL FROM PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

On the 27th instant, as a party of the Massachusetts forces, together with a party of New Hampshire forces, in all about six hundred men, were attempting to bring off the stock upon Hog Island, and about thirty men upon Noddels Island were doing the same, when about a hundred Regulars landed upon the last mentioned island, and pursued our men till they had got safely back to Hog Island; then the Regulars began to fire very briskly by platoons upon our men. In the mean time an armed schooner mounting four six-pounders and twelve swivels, with a number of barges, came up to Hog Island to prevent our people leaving said island, but to no purpose; after this she attempted to return back to the place where she was stationed at Winnisimmet, and five or six minutes would have secured her; but our men put in a heavy fire of small arms upon several barges which were towing her back, for there was little wind and flood tide, and two three-pounders coming to hand that instant, began to play upon them and soon obliged the barges to quit her and every of her crew; after which fire was set to her. Although the barges exerted themselves very vigorously to prevent it, she was burnt upon the ways of Winisimet ferry. We have not lost a single life, although the engagement was very warm from the armed schooner and armed sloop that lay within reach of small arms, from one or two twelve-pounders on Noddels Island, and from the barges, which were all fixed with swivels. Hog Island was stripped of all stock, and some were taken from Noddels Island by our forces. Two or three persons only of our men were wounded, but not mortally; how many of the enemy were killed and wounded we cannot ascertain. Since which we have

got in our hands all in the schooner that was not destroyed by fire.

Headquarters at Cambridge, May 29, 1775.

(*A copy of this ordered to be sent to Governor Trumbull.*)

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## JOSEPH WARREN TO THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF CONNECTICUT.

Cambridge, May 2d, 1775.

Gentlemen, — We yesterday had the pleasure of a conference with Doctor Johnson[1] and Colonel Wolcott,[2] who were appointed by your Assembly to deliver a letter to and hold a conference with General Gage. We feel the warmest gratitude to you for those generous and affectionate sentiments which you entertain towards us; but you will allow us to express our uneasiness on account of one paragraph in your letter, in which a cessation of hostilities is proposed. We fear that our brethren of Connecticut are not even yet convinced of the cruel designs of Administration against America, nor thoroughly sensible of the miseries to which General Gage's army have reduced this wretched Colony. We have lost the town, and we greatly fear, the inhabitants, of Boston, as we find the General is perpetually making new conditions, and forming the most unreasonable pretences, for retarding their removal from that garrison. Our people have been barbarously murdered by an insidious enemy, who under cover of the night have marched into the heart of the country, spreading destruction with fire and sword. No business but that of war is either done or thought of in this Colony; no agreement or compact with General

[1] William Samuel Johnson, b. Oct. 7, 1727, afterwards Delegate to Congress and President of Columbia College. — Eds.

[2] Oliver Wolcott, Senior, b. Nov. 26, 1726, afterwards Delegate to Congress and Governor of Connecticut. — Eds.

Gage will in the least alleviate our distress, as no confidence can possibly be placed in any assurances he can give to a people whom he has first deceived in the matter of taking possession of and fortifying the town of Boston, and whom he has suffered his army to attack in the most inhuman and treacherous manner. Our only relief now must arise from driving General Gage with his troops out of the country, which, by the blessing of God, we are determined to attempt, and hope to accomplish or perish in the attempt, as we think an honorable death in the field, whilst fighting for the liberties of all America, far preferable to being butchered in our houses, or to being reduced to an ignominious slavery. We must expect that our sister Colony Connecticut will afford immediately all possible assistance, as at this time delay will be attended with all that fatal train of events which would follow from an absolute desertion of the cause of American liberty. Excuse our earnestness upon this subject, as we know that upon the success of our present exertions depend the lives and liberties of our country and succeeding generations.

I am, with great respect and esteem, gentlemen,

Your obedient, humble servant,

Jos. Warren.

Governor and Company of Connecticut.

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GENERAL THOMAS GAGE TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Boston, 3d May, 1775.

Sir, — I am to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th April last, in behalf of the General Assembly of your Colony, relative to the alarming situation of public affairs in this country, and the late transactions in this Province; that this situation is greatly alarming and that these transactions are truly unfortunate, are truths to be

regretted by every friend to America, and by every well-wisher for the peace, prosperity, and happiness of this Province. The intimate connection and strong ties of friendship between the inhabitants of your Colony and the deluded people of this Province cannot fail of inducing the former to interpose their good offices to convince the latter of the impropriety of their past conduct, and to persuade them to return to their allegiance, and to seek redress of any supposed grievances in those decent and constitutional methods in which alone they can hope to be successful.

That troops should be employed for the purpose of protecting the magistrates in the execution of their duty, when opposed with violence, is not a new thing in the English or any other government. That any acts of the British Parliament are unconstitutional or oppressive, I am not to suppose; if any such there are in the apprehension of the people of this Province, it had been happy for them if they had sought relief only in the way which the Constitution, their reason, and their interest pointed out. You cannot wonder at my fortifying the town of Boston, or making any other military preparations, when you are assured that, previous to my taking these steps, such were the open threats and such the warlike preparations throughout this Province, as rendered it my indispensable duty to take every precaution in my power for the protection of his Majesty's troops under my command against all hostile attempts.

The intelligence you seem to have received relative to the late excursion of a body of troops into the country is altogether injurious, and contrary to the true state of facts. The troops disclaim with indignation the barbarous outrages of which they are accused, so contrary to their known humanity. I have taken the greatest pains to discover if any were committed, and have found examples of their tenderness, both to the young and the old, but no

vestige of cruelty or barbarity. It is very possible that in firing into houses, from whence they were fired upon, that old people, women, or children may have suffered, but if any such thing has happened, it was in their defence and undesigned. I have no command to ravage and desolate the country, and were it my intention, I have had pretence to begin it upon the sea-ports, who are at the mercy of the fleet. For your better information, I enclose you a narrative of that affair, taken from gentlemen of indisputable honor and veracity, who were eye-witnesses of all transactions of that day. The leaders here have taken pains to prevent any account of this affair getting abroad but such as they have thought proper to publish themselves; and to that end the post has been stopped, the mails broke open and letters taken out, and by these means, the most injurious and inflammatory accounts have been spread throughout the Continent, which has served to deceive and inflame the minds of the people.

When the resolves of the Provincial Congress breathed nothing but war, when those two great and essential prerogatives of the King, — the levying of troops, and disposing of the public moneys, — were wrested from him, and when magazines were forming by an assembly of men unknown to the Constitution, for the declared purpose of levying war against the King, — you must acknowledge it was my duty, as it was the dictate of humanity, to prevent, if possible, the calamities of a civil war, by destroying such magazines; this and this alone I attempted.

You ask, Why is the town of Boston now shut up? I can only refer you for an answer to those bodies of armed men who now surround the town, and prevent all access to it. The hostile preparations you mention are such as the conduct of the people of this Province has rendered it prudent to make, for the defence of those under my command. You assure me the people of your Colony abhor

the idea of taking arms against the troops of their sovereign. I wish the people of this Province (for their own sakes) could make the same declaration.

You inquire, Is there no way to prevent this unhappy dispute from coming to extremities; is there no alternative but absolute submission, or the desolations of war? I answer, I hope there is. The King and Parliament seem to hold out terms of reconciliation, consistent with the honor and interest of Great Britain and the rights and privileges of the Colonies. They have mutually declared their readiness to attend to any real grievances of the Colonies, and to afford them every just and reasonable indulgence, which shall in a dutiful and constitutional manner be laid before them; and his Majesty adds, it is his ardent wish that this disposition may have a happy effect on the temper and conduct of his subjects in America. I must add likewise the resolution of the 27th February, on the grand dispute of taxation and revenue, leaving it to the Colonies to tax themselves under certain conditions. Here is surely a foundation for an accommodation to people who wish a reconciliation rather than a destructive war between countries so nearly connected by the ties of blood and interest; but I fear that the leaders of this Province have been, and still are, intent on shedding blood.

I am much obliged by your favorable sentiments of my personal character, and assure you, as it has been my constant wish and endeavor hitherto, so I shall continue to exert my utmost efforts to protect all his Majesty's liege subjects under my care, in their persons and property. You ask whether it will not be consistent with my duty to suspend the operations of war on my part. I have commenced no operations of war but defensive. Such you cannot wish me to suspend, while I am surrounded by an armed country, who have already begun and threaten further to prosecute an offensive war, and are now vio-

lently depriving me, the King's troops, and many others of the King's subjects under my immediate protection, of all the conveniences and necessaries of life with which the country abounds; but it must quiet the minds of all reasonable people when I assure you that I have no disposition to injure or molest quiet and peaceable subjects, but on the contrary shall esteem it my greatest happiness to defend and protect them against every species of violence and oppression.

I am, with great regard and esteem,

Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

THO$^{S}$. GAGE.

THE HONORABLE GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

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GOVERNOR TRUMBULL TO JOSEPH WARREN.

HARTFORD, May 4th, 1775.

SIR, — Your letter of the 2d May instant is received. You may be informed from our letter to Brigadier-General Putnam what is already done by our General Assembly, and need not fear our firmness, deliberation, and unanimity to pursue the measures which appear best for our common defence and safety, and in no degree to relax our vigilant preparations for that end, and to act in union and concert with our sister Colonies, and shall be cautious of trusting promises which may be in the power of any one to evade. We hope no ill consequences will attend our embassy to General Gage; should be glad to be furnished with the evidences duly authenticated, concerning the attack on the 19th of April last at Lexington, which it is presumed you have taken; although we are at a distance from the distressing scenes before your eyes, yet are most sensibly affected with the alarming relations of them.

I am, with regard and affection,

Sir, your obedient, humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

THE HONORABLE JOSEPH WARREN, ESQ.

JOSEPH WARREN TO THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF CONNECTICUT.

In Provincial Congress, Watertown, May 5, 1775.

Gentlemen, — The delegates appointed by your respectable Assembly to treat with General Gage on the late unhappy events which have occurred in this Colony have favored us with a conference, and communicated the substance of their interview with him.

We are greatly alarmed at the unparalleled wickedness of our unnatural enemies in endeavoring to persuade our sister Colony that the inhabitants of this first commenced hostilities, — a suggestion which we cannot but think will appear absurd, when the great inequality of the Lexington company and the detachment of Regular troops which attacked them is coolly considered.

But to put this matter in the clearest light, we beg leave to enclose you the copies of depositions taken by order of this Congress and despatched for London, containing the most incontestable evidence that the King's troops first fired upon and killed several of the inhabitants of this Colony, before any injury was offered to them. We also enclose you the copy of an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain,[1] and of a letter to our Colony agent,[1] and think it expedient to suspend the publication of the address and letter until they shall have had their effect in England.

The experience which we have had of General Gage hath fully convinced us that little dependence can be placed in his professions; whilst he has been collecting his forces, fortifying our capital, and in every other respect preparing for war, we have been amused with pretensions to benevolence and kindness, evidently calculated to retard the measures which we were necessarily pursuing for self-defence; and we are constrained to declare that

[1] See pages 290 and 293. — Eds.

should he be at any future time possessed of forces superior to those raised to oppose him, we should, from his past conduct, have no hopes left of escaping the heaviest vengeance which ministerial tyranny can devise, assisted by the most inveterate enemies to mankind in general, and of this their native country in particular.

On the exertions of the Colonies and blessings of Heaven we alone can depend for safety and support; and it is clearly the opinion of this Congress that the establishment of a powerful army is the best and only measure left to bring the present disputes to a happy issue. It is evidently the business of the General to subjugate this and the other Colonies; and we think there are the most convincing proofs that, in order to effect it, he is constantly aiming to suspend their preparations for defence, until his reinforcements shall arrive. But although we have been under great apprehensions with respect to the advantages which the conference of Connecticut with General Gage might give our enemies, yet we have the greatest confidence in the wisdom and vigilance of your respectable Assembly and Colony of Connecticut, as well as of our other sister Colonies; and have reason to hope, that while he fails in his intentions to lull and deceive this Continent, he can never accomplish his designs to conquer it.

We are, with the greatest respect, gentlemen,

Your very humble servants,

JOS. WARREN, *President pro tem.*

Attest SAM[L] FREEMAN, *Secretary pro tem.*

TO THE HONORABLE THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT.

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## JOSEPH WARREN TO GOVERNOR, COUNCIL, AND ASSEMBLY OF CONNECTICUT.

WATERTOWN, May 17th, 1775.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONORS, — We have the happiness of presenting our congratulations to you on the

reduction of that important fortress, Ticonderoga. We applaud the conduct of both officers and soldiers, and are of the opinion that the advantageous situation of that fortress makes it highly expedient that it should be repaired and properly garrisoned. In the mean time, as we suppose there is no necessity for keeping all the cannon there, we should be extremely glad if all the battering cannon, especially brass cannon, which can be spared from that place, or procured from Crown Point (which we hope is by this time in the hands of our friends), may be forwarded this way with all possible expedition, as we have here to contend with an army furnished with as fine a train of artillery as ever was seen in America, and we are in extreme need of a sufficient number of cannon to fortify those important passes, without which we can neither annoy General Gage, if it should become necessary, nor defend ourselves against him. We must therefore most earnestly recommend this very important matter to your immediate consideration; and we would suggest it as our opinion, that the appointing Colonel Arnold to take charge of the cannon and bring them down with all possible haste may be a means of settling any dispute which may have arisen between him and some other officers, which we are always desirous to avoid, and more especially at a time when our common danger ought to unite us in the strongest bonds of amity and affection.

We are, gentlemen,

Your most obedient, humble servants.

Signed, by order of Provincial Congress,

JOS. WARREN, *President pro tem.*

Attest .SAM$^{L}$ FREEMAN, *Secretary pro tem.*

TO THE HONORABLE GOVERNOR, COUNCIL, AND ASSEMBLY OF CONNECTICUT.

## GOVERNOR TRUMBULL TO PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

HARTFORD, May 25th, 1775.

GENTLEMEN, — Your letter of the 17th inst., with the enclosed resolve of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay, was delivered to me by Colonel Easton[1] and communicated to the General Assembly, who have desired me to return their congratulations on the reduction of Ticonderoga, a fortress truly important, and to assure you they entertain a proper sense of the merit of those officers and soldiers by whose bravery and good conduct it was achieved. As this advantage was gained by the united counsels and enterprise of a number of private gentlemen in your Province, New Hampshire, New York, and this Colony, prompted only by a zeal for the liberties of their country, without public authority (to our knowledge), and is of great and general importance to the united Colonies, it was thought best to take the advice of the Continental Congress upon the manner of treating it in future, both by the General Assembly of this Colony and the Committee of New York, as well as by you. Despatches were accordingly sent to Philadelphia, and the resolution of the Continental Congress thereupon hath been received this day by express, with a letter from the Committee of New York, copies of which enclosed are herewith sent you. By these you will see the present custody of that fortress is committed to the Province of New York, with the assistance of the New England Colonies if needed.

The General Assembly of this Colony behold your situation with concern, and a fixed resolution to contribute everything in their power to your defence and preservation, and, as far as pertains to them, are willing and desirous you should have the benefit of such artillery as may be spared from the fortresses of Crown Point and Ticonderoga; but as they do not consider themselves as entitled

[1] James Easton. See Drake's Dict. of Amer. Biog. — EDS.

to the command of those places, they cannot take upon themselves to give orders for the removal of the heavy cannon that may be spared, without the concurrence of the other Colonies interested in them.

The necessity of securing and maintaining the posts on the lakes for defence of the frontiers becomes daily more evident from the iterated intelligence we receive of the plan formed by our enemies to distress us by inroads of Canadians and savages from the Province of Quebec upon the adjacent settlements. The enclosed copy of a letter from our delegates attending at New York, to communicate measures with the Provincial Congress in that city, throws an additional light on this subject, and is thought worthy to be communicated to you; and whilst the designs of our enemies against us fill us with concern, we cannot omit to observe the smiles of Providence upon us in revealing their wicked plans, and hitherto prospering the attempts of the Colonies to frustrate them. With a humble reliance on the continuance of divine favor and protection in a cause of the justice of which a doubt cannot be entertained, the General Assembly of this Colony are ready to co-operate with the other Colonies in every exertion for their common defence, and to contribute their proportion of men and other necessaries for maintaining the posts on the frontiers, or defending or repelling invasions in any other quarter, agreeable to the advice of the Continental Congress. I am, gentlemen,

In behalf of the General Assembly of this Colony,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

To Honorable Provincial Congress of Massachusetts.

*In the lower House.*

The above draught of a letter read and approved.

Test RICH$^{D}$ LAW, *Clerk.*

*Concurred in the upper House.*

Test GEORGE WYLLYS, *Secretary.*

JOSEPH WARREN TO THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF CONNECTICUT.

In Provincial Congress, Watertown, May 27, 1775.

Gentlemen, — Enclosed is copies of a letter from Colonel Arnold and a list of military stores at Ticonderoga, etc.

We have wrote you of the 17th instant, relative to that fortress, etc., and were desirous that you would give such orders relative thereto as to you should seem meet; but we are of opinion that the advice of the Continental Congress should be had thereon as soon as may be, and also the particular advice of the Provincial Congress of New York, to each of whom we have wrote upon this matter. Those fortresses being within the jurisdiction of the Colony of New York, we are of opinion that it is necessary to consult them upon a matter in which they are so greatly interested.

We have appointed and directed Colonel Joseph Henshaw to repair to you and consult with you upon the affair of that fortress, the maintenance of which we think of the utmost importance to the security of New York and the New England Colonies. His instructions will be laid before you, and we have no doubt you will take such measures relative thereto as will promote the general safety of these Colonies.

Jos. Warren, *President.*

To the Honorable the Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut.

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GOVERNOR TRUMBULL TO PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Hartford, 29th May, 1775.

Gentlemen, — I am desired to enclose to you copy of a letter from the Provincial Congress of New York, dated 25th instant, which you will receive herewith per M. Brown,

who is on his return from the Continental Congress. The contents of the above-mentioned letter were immediately taken into consideration of this Assembly, in consequence whereof they have come into the following resolutions: "That one thousand men (including four companies which we had before ordered), under command of Colonel Hinman, should march as soon as possible to Tyconderoga and Crown Point, for the support and defence of those fortresses. That they continue there until they are relieved by the Province of New York, or are otherwise ordered by this Assembly. That Colonel Hinman take the command of our troops on those stations. That the troops be furnished with 1 lb. of powder and 3 lbs. of ball to each soldier. That Colonel Hinman be ordered to keep up the strictest vigilance to prevent any hostile incursions from being made into the settlements of the Province of Quebec, and that the Provincial Congresses of New York and Massachusetts Bay be advised of these measures, and the New York Congress be requested to forward the necessary supplies for said troops and such further supplies of ammunition as they shall judge necessary." Advice of these resolutions are already forwarded to New York per M. Colton, your express to Philadelphia. It is matter of doubt with us whether the above-mentioned detachment of troops ordered by this Colony will be sufficient for the important purposes for which they are destined. But we recollect that Colonel Arnold is now on the spot, with a commission (as we understand) to raise a regiment in the pay of your Province. We are not informed how far he has proceeded in that design; if he meets with success in his intentions, we flatter ourselves that his regiment, together with our troops, will be able to keep their ground.

We would recommend to your consideration the furnishing such additional quantity of powder as you shall think necessary to be sent forward for the support of those northern fortresses. Am very sorry to have it to say we

are credibly informed there is not 500 lbs. of powder in the city of New York; but at same time are advised that they are taking means to supply themselves with that very important article.

I am, gentlemen,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JON$^{TH}$ TRUMBULL.

PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

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## JAMES[1] WARREN TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, WATERTOWN,
June 25, 1775.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR, — From advices received diverse ways, we have the greatest reason to determine that all the British troops already destined, or that may be ordered to America this season, will come to Boston; it being evidently their design, if possible, to rout our army before that place, destroy all our magazines, and thereby strike terror and faintness into the hearts of all friends to right and liberty throughout the continent, to revive and animate their scattered friends, and break the union of the Colonies, and in that way insure final success to their tyranny. This being undoubtedly the plan of our enemies, it is of inexpressible consequence that the ground that we have taken should at all events be maintained. Your Honor is no doubt fully sensible that our army, for the present, is unavoidably checked with regard to offensive operations for a reason of which you are not unapprised. We have only the means of acting on the defensive, and that for a very short time.

As Boston is impregnable against everything but great artillery, very few troops are sufficient to keep it; and as there are two passes at least, very distant from each other, by which the enemy will probably attempt to advance

[1] Gen. James Warren, of Plymouth, Mass., who succeeded Joseph Warren as President of Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, upon death of latter at Bunker Hill. — EDS.

into the country, it is thereby rendered necessary that we should throw our army into *at least* two grand divisions, each of which ought to be able to withstand almost the whole force of the enemy. Your Honor is acquainted that it was supposed at first to be necessary that thirty thousand men should be raised and stationed to act, for this season, in the environs of Boston. Thirteen thousand and six hundred was the number supposed by our Congress to be this Colony's proportion of such an army, and that number we have to our utmost been endeavoring fully to complete; but because there are deficiencies in our regiment (as your Honor well knows there always will be in such cases), in order to make that quota good, we have been obliged to increase the number of the regiments; but still there is a deficiency, and because of the inexpressible importance of having our army effectually strong, we are, with unremitted efforts and by every device, at vast expense laboring to make that number fully complete, or rather to exceed it.

May it please your Honor, because we are vastly apprehensive of the fatal consequences of a general defeat of this army to the whole American cause, and are so unutterably solicitous to have it effectually strengthened, we have called in every individual of our levies from all our outposts to join the army, although by that measure we expose all our towns on the sea-coast to the rage and depredations of the enemy, and run the dreadful risk of the best of our towns being reduced to ashes and taking the miserable fate of Charlestown.

We beg leave to acquaint your Honor that it is most clearly our opinion, and that we have the best ground to suppose, that as soon as the enemy have recovered a little breath from their amazing fatigues of the 17th of June, and the surprising losses which they there undoubtedly sustained shall be made up by arrivals of new troops, which is almost taking place, they will direct all their force to some one point, and make the utmost

efforts to force our lines, destroy our magazines, and thereby strike general terror and amazement into the hearts of the inhabitants of the whole continent. From this view of the case we cannot a moment longer forbear addressing your Honor, and most earnestly suggesting to the immediate consideration of your General Assembly, not only the expediency but the indispensable necessity of an immediate augmentation of the troops from your Colony for the more effectual strengthening of the army. What the number of the augmentation ought to be we most cheerfully submit to the good judgment of your Assembly, not in the least doubting but their wisdom and justice will direct and dispose them to do all that is proper in so important a crisis as we really consider the present.

We need not express to your Honor the indispensable necessity of despatch in making reinforcements, nor the propriety and advantage of making any new levies which your Assembly may order, with all possible speed, without the first raised companies waiting for the completing of others; inasmuch as your Colony has here on the spot all the proper officers to make the necessary dispositions for their reception, and as the season of their being of any advantage for the support of our Colony may be irrecoverably lapsed before their arrival if the least unnecessary delay should be indulged.

We have made a representation to the Lieutenant-Governor of Rhode Island similar to the foregoing, and are about to make a like representation of [*sic*] the Congress of New Hampshire, and to send the same by special express.

We suppose the whole number of our enemy's land forces, when joined with the four regiments which were ordered to New York, will amount to upwards of ten thousand exclusive of negroes and Tories, who are every way provided and furnished in the best manner for action. We have the fullest confidence that your Honor's zeal and ardor for the salvation of our country, and the

preservation of our inestimable rights, will render any importunity unnecessary to induce you to take all the requisite steps to effect the proposed augmentation, for which we are most solicitous.

We are, may it please your Honor,

With the greatest respect,

Your Honor's most obedient, humble servant.

By order of Congress,

JAMES WARREN, *President.*

To the Honorable Governor Trumbull.

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JAMES WARREN TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

In Congress, Watertown,
July 12th, 1775.

May it Please Your Honor, — The brig "Nancy," now in the harbor of Stonington in Connecticut, being laden with molasses, the property of the late Joshua Winslow, of Boston, a noted and active friend to Administration, and so we are well informed, is now directed to be conveyed to New York, and from thence, as we conjecture from sundry suspicious circumstances, sent to Boston; the master who has undertaken this business being now in custody, having given the information before mentioned. The Congress of the Massachusetts Bay beg leave to observe to your Honor whether prudence and good policy do not suggest to detain said brig and cargo, or such part of it as belongs to said Winslow, for the use of the Colonies, rather than to suffer them to fall into the hands of General Gage, where they will be improved to the support of our enemies and to augment the distress of these Colonies.

We have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Honor's most humble servant.

In behalf and by order of Congress,

JAMES WARREN, *President.*

The Honorable Governor Trumbull.

# APPENDIX.

## A.

TO THE HONORABLE JONATHAN TRUMBULL, ESQ., GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF CONNECTICUT, ETC.

THE humble petition of James Raymond, Captain, for himself and detachment; Joseph Chew and George Bell, of the Commissary General's department; Peter Paton, Magnus Morrison, Peter Friesburgh, Ab$^{m}$ Harris, James Baily, Joseph Kelly, W$^{m}$ Stout, Samuel Osborn, and John Wilkie, Masters, in behalf of themselves and their men belonging to the vessels lately destroyed at Sag Harbor: —

Humbly informing your Honor that at the time of their being made prisoners, most of them lost everything they had; that the affairs of your petitioners in the Commissary and Naval Department are so peculiarly situated, we are like to be the greatest sufferers; that we flatter ourselves if leave could be granted to Joseph Chew, Deputy Commissary (who has for some time had the management of the service we were employed in), to go to New York, he could effect our being exchanged, which would not only alleviate our misfortunes, but give relief to the same number now suffering imprisonment, who would return to this government in our places. In case this wished-for event did not take place, he could obtain and bring to us such supplies and necessaries as might relieve us from the want we now are in, which under the unhappy situation of our affairs we cannot expect to be done by letter or by one unacquainted with the service of that department in which we have been employed. I, Captain Raymond, also hope from his representation myself and party may be exchanged; if not, that he may bring such supplies of money and clothing that may enable me and them to live comfortably during our con-

finement; and the said Joseph Chew for himself, and all of us for him, engage and promise that whatever parole he may enter into on this occasion shall be strictly observed and performed.

Your petitioners beg pardon for the trouble their situation obliges them to give, and humbly hope from your Honor's known humanity and benevolence you may be pleased to grant their request; and they will as in duty bound ever pray, etc.

James Raymond, *Captain.*
Jos. Chew, *D. Commissary of Forage.*
George Bell, *Collector of Forage.*

Hartford, 31st May, 1777.

Peter Paton,
Magnus Morison,
Petter Frisberg,
Abreham Harres,
James Bailie,
Joseph Kelly,
William Stout,
John Wilkie,
Samuel Osborn,
} *Masters of Vessels.*

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## B.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR TRUMBULL AND THE HONORABLE COUNCIL OF SAFETY FOR THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT, etc.

The memorial of Joseph Chew, lately made prisoner on Long Island, humbly requesting your Honors to alter the place of his confinement from Wellington.

Your memorialist has long had the King's commission. During the time he was in England his family were obliged to leave their habitation, with the loss of all their stock, most of their household furniture, etc., for no other cause than his being in the King's service. He is, and always will be, truly sensible of the protection and kindness they met with on coming to this Government, as well as of the great favor they were on the point of receiving from his Excellency the Governor at the time it was his misfortune to be made a prisoner.

They consist of a wife and number of small children, whose circumstances some of your Honors are acquainted with; who, he believes, notwithstanding his sentiments, are willing he should enjoy their company (after upwards of two years' separation) during his captivity; this is a blessing he cannot possibly have if he is ordered to any very remote place, for reasons not unknown to some of your Honors, and that can be explained if he has the honor of personally attending you.

Your memorialist begs leave to assure your Excellency and Honors that during his confinement he will have nothing to do with politics or attempt a correspondence or thing contrary to the true intent and meaning of the parole he takes, but observe such rules as may give no cause of offence or uneasiness.

Had he so little regard to himself as to forfeit his honor in this case, — a thing his own commander would condemn as much as it can be detested here, — the situation of his wife and children are the firmest ties and the most binding security that can be given for his behavior.

The relief and good offices he may have afforded those in distress since this unhappy contest he makes no merit of; their situation required it; and had his ability been equal to his inclination, many more would have known it. Such times as these render it highly necessary to make use of every occasion in order to alleviate the misery of the unfortunate.

Your Excellency's and Honors' memorialist begs liberty to add that whatever indulgences you may please to grant him and his family shall not in any manner of way or means be abused, and that he shall as in duty bound ever pray, etc.

Jos. Chew,

*D. Commissary of Forage to the Army at New York, etc.*

Hartford, 7th June, 1777.

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## C.

### GENERAL GATES TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Fishkill, 21st May, 1778.

Sir, — Last night I had the honor to receive your Excellency's letter of the 17th instant. The enemy in this quarter are also appearing to evacuate the Forts Washington and Inde-

pendence, having been observed from Fort Lee to be moving some of their heavy cannon from the hill, and to all appearance embarking them on board a transport at the wharves. Previous to your Excellency's giving me the hint I had despatched a trusty person to obtain intelligence of the enemy's intended movements, and hourly expect the best information that can be procured; upon its arrival it shall be immediately transmitted to your Excellency. A copy of your letter shall this morning be forwarded to Governor Trumbull, with my request to have the six regiments of militia, voted by the Legislature of Connecticut, in readiness to march at the shortest notice; for the scantiness of my provision magazine makes me dread the instant calling any more troops to this post. The day before yesterday a large bag, sealed up, and directed to Governor Trumbull from Governor Tryon, was sent by a flag to my advanced post. Upon being brought to headquarters, it was in a few minutes sent off by a special express to the Governor at Hartford, where he is now meeting his Assembly. Horses, carriages, and forage are so much in request here, that there is no moving the artillery, camp equipage, or stores, until proper supplies of each can be obtained.

At General Greene's desire I have advanced Colonel Hay, his deputy, $50,000, but that is but a trifle in comparison of the sum necessarily required to purchase the articles here mentioned. I must therefore entreat your Excellency will press General Greene to furnish Colonel Hay with a proper supply of cash. Colonel Wadsworth and Colonel Cuyler are very fully informed of the state of my provision magazine, so there is nothing left for me to do on that head. Your Excellency may be satisfied that the most attentive regard shall be paid to the motions of the enemy; but I cannot but lament the wretched plight this post is in, either for enterprise or retreat, by the want of proper means to move the camp equipage, artillery, and stores.

The Board of War desire I would request your Excellency to send them the returns of military stores, etc., which I brought to the Valley Forge for your inspection, as they have not yet been entered in the books of the office.

Enclosed is a letter I have just received from Mr. Hayes, Surgeon of the British Hospital at Albany. If your Excellency has no objection to granting the prayer of his petition, I will,

upon knowing your answer, order the prisoners down from Albany. At present I could wish them to be removed from thence, and there is no mode of doing that but by water, as they are most of them disabled from marching.

I am, sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

HORATIO GATES.

HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

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## GENERAL GATES TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

FISHKILL, 21st May, 1778.

SIR, — For your particular perusal I send your Excellency, in the packet, a letter I received last night from General Washington, with my answer returned this morning to him. Your Excellency will see the reason why I do not immediately request to be reinforced with the six regiments of militia ordered by the Legislature of Connecticut to be embodied for the public service ; but I must nevertheless entreat your Excellency will be pleased to order those regiments to be so collected and provided that they may be ready to march in six hours after they receive your orders. My opinion with respect to the militia perfectly coincides with your Excellency's, which is never to call for them until the instant they are wanted, and to return them to their homes the moment the service is performed.

My affectionate compliments wait upon your sons, Colonel Joseph and John Trumbull. It is with infinite regret that I reflect upon the loss I sustained in the latter's being torn from his friend ; but the spirit of party and the spirit of avarice are meant to have too much dominion here as well as in the Old World.

I am, sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

HORATIO GATES.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

GENERAL GATES TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Fishkill, May 25th, 1778.

Sir, — Enclosed I have the honor of sending your Excellency copies of two letters which I received yesterday afternoon. It is difficult to determine the enemy's real object; but I think there is reason to conclude that they will make an immediate incursion into this, or one of the Eastern States. If in executing this plan they should be assisted by Sir Henry Clinton's army, which may suddenly march across the Jerseys and join them, their operations may prove very serious, as this post is too weak to make a formidable stand. I am under the necessity, therefore, of requesting that your Excellency would order the six regiments your Legislature has voted for the ensuing campaign, to join me as soon as possible. I am induced to be the more pressing in this request, because it is highly probable that the desperate state of the enemy's affairs, both in Europe and America, may compel them to undertake the most hazardous enterprise.

I have the satisfaction of informing your Excellency that my provision magazine is at present large enough to supply the reinforcements that come in.

I have the honor to be,

With the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

Horatio Gates.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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Sewall, *Chief Justice* Samuel, 3. 399. Letter to his son, giving some account of the Sewall family, 5. xi. His arms, 5. xv. His descendants, 5. xxvi. Issue of his daughters, 5. xxxvi. Graduated at Harvard, Class 1671, and became a Resident Fellow, 5. 1. Ordered Keeper of the College Library, March 1, 1674, 5. 1. Salary ordered from Piscataway gift and Glover's gift, April 15, 1674, 5. 1. Residence in Boston, 5. 1. Preached at Newbury, April 1, 1675, 5. 1. Married, 5. 1. Difficulty with Rev. Urian Oakes, 5. 3. Commonplaced, 5. 4. Went home to Newbury, 5. 5. Visited Messrs. Parker, Woodbridge, & Richardson, 5. 5. Visited by Tim Woodbridge, 5. 5. Brought up Sister Jane, 5. 5. Niece born, 5. 5. To Cambridge, 5. 5. Called to speak there, 5. 5. The sum of his speech, 5. 5. Lay at Cousin Dummer's, in Boston, 5. 6. To Charlestown Ferry, 5. 6. N. Fissenden came home with him, 5. 6. Father went down, 5. 6. Brother Stephen visited him, 5. 6. Brother Stephen to Salem, 5. 6. William Adams and wife visited him, 5. 6. About Nov. 12, 1674, wrote four letters to England, 5. 6. To see Mr. Moody, also Mr. and Mrs. Little, 5. 7. To Salem, 5. 7. At an arbitration, 5. 7. Took mother to fast, 5. 8. Visited Mr. Parker, 5. 8. Preached for Mr. Parker, 5. 9. At house-raising, 5. 9. Adams lodged with him, 5. 10. Remarkable dream, 5. 10. Mr. Reyner came with a letter, 5. 11. At his sister's, 5. 11. Gave letters for Boston, 5. 11. Felled an oak, 5. 12. Severe cold and fever, 5. 13. Letter from Uncle St. Dummer, 5. 14. To Mr. Smith's, 5. 14. Sent letters to Uncles Stephen and Nathaniel by John Pike, 5. 14. Home end of June, '76, 5. 14. Questions Tim Dwight, 5. 16. Reads the old wet paper, 5. 18. Got letters from St. Dummer, 5. 18. Helped to bury Mrs. Brown, 5. 20. Sent letters to Newbury, 5. 20. Spent the day in helping to dissect an Indian, 5. 21. Examined Mr. Russell's accounts, 5. 21. John Sewall visits him, 5. 22. Sat up with Hannah Sewall, 5. 22. Lodges with his wife, 5. 23. Sat up all night, 5. 23. Mistrusts the good effect of diacodion, 5. 23. At Mary Savage's funeral, 5. 23. Visited by his brother Stephen, 5. 23. Sent letters to Mr. Broughton, 5. 24. First letter to Edward Hull, 5. 25. Boston to Milton and Hingham, 5. 25. To Plymouth, 5. 25. To Sandwich, 5. 25. Breakfasted at Stephen Skiph's, 5. 26. Looked for strayed horses, 5. 26. Found, and put them in Mr. Bourn's sheep-pen, 5. 26. Supped at Mr. Smith's, 5. 26. Took up a mare, and slit the ears of some colts, 5. 26. Rode with Smith to see proposed cut from the South to the North Sea, 5. 26. Description of the same, 5. 26. Saw three hills on which four towns kept warders, 5. 26. Opinion as to Moniment Harbor, 5. 26. Supper at Mr. Dexter's, 5. 26. In trouble about

mare, but assisted by the Downings, 5 26. To Plymouth by way of clifts, 5. 26. Trouble with mare, 5. 26. Came to Jones's bridge, where a horse he was leading escaped, and was with great trouble recovered, 5. 27. Entertained at Tracy's, 5. 27. Gets to Braintree, 5. 27. Got home in safety, 5. '27. Verses composed on the occasion, 5. 27. On board ship to see horses shipped, 5. 27. Visited Mr. Usher and wife, 5. 29. Meeting at N. Williams's, 5 29. First conference meeting at his house, 5. 29. At Sandwich, 5. 29. At Mr. Hill's, 5. 29. At Mr. Wing's, 5 29. At Mrs. Tappin's, 5. 29. At Mrs. Alden's, 5. 29. At Mr. Williams's, 5. 30. Seth Shove comes to live with him, 5. 30. Curious superstition about an 'ugly dogg,' 5. 30. To meeting at Capt. Scottow's, 5. 31. At Mrs. Usher's, and gives her a curious recipe for the throat, 5. 31. Laments he had not visited Rev. J. Reyner, who dies unexpectedly, 5. 31. Mr. Reyner's advice, 5. 32. At his ninth meeting, 5. 32. Supplies Mr Moody's place, 5. 32. Hears Mr. Willard, 5. 32. Witnesses Mr. Dudley's commission, 5. 32. Mr. Dean advises his acquainting himself with merchants, 5 32. Brother Stephen comes, 5. 32. Visited Mr and Mrs. Oliver, 5. 32. To Dorchester, 5. 32. Sups well and rides home, 5. 33. Wrote to Uncle St. Dummer, 5. 33. To meeting at Macharta's, 5. 33. Visits Mr. Sanford, 5. 33. To Mr. Thacher, and spoke about joining his church, 5. 34. To meeting at Mr. Hayward's, 5 34. Showed to Numan and Serjeant copy of letter cast into the Governor's, 5 34. To Charlestown lecture, and met the Governor and others, 5. 34. Letter to Cousin Quinsey, 5. 34. Ordered in this a variety of clothes, books, and a map of London, also verses made on Mr. Reyner, 5. 34. Wrote to Mr. Thacher, with news, 5. 34. To Mrs. Usher about his sister Jane, 5. 34. Visited Mr. Sanford, 5. 35. To meeting at Mr. Morse's, and at Mr. Davis's, 5. 35. Mr. Smith, of Hingham, solicits his interest to get his son to succeed Mr. Sanford, 5. 35. Goes to see Mrs. Sanford and one of the Overseers on this subject, 5. 35. Wrote to Mr. Smith as to the prospects, 5. 36. Brewed his wife's groaning beer, 5. 36. To meeting at Cousin Savage's, 5. 36. Mr. Torrey urges his father to have him follow the ministry, and not merchandise, 5. 36. Resolves to see Mr. Torrey on this subject, but misses him, 5. 36. Went to consult with Mr. Norton on the subject, but gets no satisfactory reply, 5. 36. To meeting at B. Needham's, 5. 37. To his first townmeeting, 5. 37. Visited Mr. Willard, 5. 38. At Dr. Alcock's funeral, 5. 38. To Mr. Thacher's, 5. 38. Rode to Dorchester fast, 5. 39. Admitted a member of Mr. Thacher's church, 5. 39. Spoke and prayed on same occasion, 5. 39. Found his wife ill, 5. 40. Warned mother, 5. 40. Called midwife, 5. 40. Heard his child's cry, 5. 40. Went home with midwife, and were challenged by the watch; upon explaining, they were allowed to pass, 5. 40. Named the child John, 5. 40. To meeting at B. East's, 5. 41. To Dorchester, 5. 41. Visited by Messrs Hobart, 5. 41. Reflections on the death of Mr. Parker, 5. 42. Went to Mr. Oakes, 5. 42. Mr. Oakes's advice, 5. 42. Caught a severe cold, 5. 42. Mr. Mather called, and prayed with him, 5 42. Meeting at B. Hill's, 5. 43. Meeting at Mr. Wing's, 5. 43. To Plymouth and returned, 5. 43. To meeting at B. Williams's, 5. 43. Chosen Fellow and installed, 5. 51. Joined (Old) South Church, 5. 56. Made a freeman, 5. 56. Appointed perambulator of bounds for Muddy River, 5. 56. Undertakes management of printing-press in Boston, 5. 57. Surety for S. Green and family, 5. 57. Appointed to assist in drawing up instructions for deputies to General Court, 5. 57. Chosen commissioner to assess rates, 5. 57. Prints S. Torrey's sermon, 5. 57. Resigns the printing-press, 5. 57. Deputy from Westfield, 5. 57. Appointed captain, 5. 58. Letter to Increase Mather about printing college laws, and to Cotton Mather, 5. 58. Petition to build a porch, 5. 59. Left no will, 5. 63. Division of his property, 5. 63. Political position, 5. 66. Acting as magistrate or deputy, 5. 66. To Ipswich, Newbury, and Wenham, 5. 66. To Salem, 5. 66. Home, 5. 66. To Mrs. Flint's, 5. 66. Kept watch, 5. 66. To Watertown, 5. 66. To Cambridge, 5. 66. Ordination at Sherborn, 5. 68. To Weymouth, 5. 68. Home, 5. 69. To G. Bairsto's, 5. 69. To Salem, 5. 70. Nominated to assist at ordination of Cotton Mather, 5. 71. Walk with Gov. Bradstreet, 5. 72. With Mr. Moodey to 'Apostle' Eliot's, 5. 75. Visited Mr. Dudley, 5. 75. Invites magistrates and ministers to a fast, 5. 76. To Roxbury, 5. 76. To Mr. Stoughton and Dudley, 5. 78. Stoughton and Dudley dine with him, 5. 81. To Dorchester, 5. 83. To Cambridge, 5 84. Dined with N. Gookin, 5. 84. Goes with Governor, 5. 85. Conference as to the charter,

Sewall, Samuel, *continued.*
5. 85. To County Court, 5. 86. Stoughton, Dudley, and Mr. Secretary visit him, 5. 86. Dudley, Stoughton, and Bullivant visit him, 5. 87. Issue in his arm, 5. 88. To Dorchester, 5. 91. At Mr. Sherman's funeral, 5. 91. Supper with Adams and Torrey, 5. 92. At funeral of Rev. W. Adams, 5. 93. Dines with South Company, 5. 94. Dines at Mr. Dudley's, 5. 95. To Cambridge, 5. 95. Dislike of periwigs, 5. 95. Keeps watch, 5. 96. Visits Porter and Gov. West, 5. 97. To Milton, 5. 97. Dined at Mr. Thacher's, 5. 97. To Muddy River nutting, 5. 98. Mr. Torrey visits him, 5. 100. Supper at Serj. Bull's, 5. 102. Mr. Willard calls, 5. 102. Goes to the Governor about Thanksgiving, 5. 102. Brother Stephen visits, and Mr. Moodey, 5. 106. Rev. George Burroughs dines, 5. 106. Goes the rounds, 5. 107. N. Dummer visits, 5. 110. To a private fast, 5. 114. To Son Henry's funeral, 5. 114. Very unusual dream, 5. 115. Dines at Governor's, 5. 116. Meeting at Mr. Allen's, 5. 116. To Dorchester, 5. 117. Stoughton and Dudley call, 5. 118. Gives commission to A. Gardiner, 5 119. Kept watch, 5. 119. To First Meetinghouse, 5. 121. Blames E. Cowel for ill carriage, 5. 122. Brother Stephen and wife visit, 5. 123. Stoughton calls, 5. 123. At meeting in Old Church, 5. 125. To Muddy River, and met Deputy-Governor, 5. 127. To Braintree, 5. 128. To Court of Assistants with Governor, 5 129. Debate about Mr. Shrimpton, 5. 129. Vindicates Mr. Stoughton, 5. 130. Visits Mr. Mather, 5. 131. Kept watch, 5. 131. With Mr. Willard to Malden, 5. 131. Visits Mr. Nowell, 5. 132. Is nominated, 5. 132. Stoughton and Dudley call, 5. 134. With wife to Newbury, also to Salem, 5. 135. Noyes visits, 5. 135. Met R. Waldron, 5. 136. To Charlestown, 5. 136. Waits on Mr. Stoughton, 5. 137; on Major Dudley, 5 137. Had admiralty case, 5. 137. Major-General dines with him, 5. 137. To George Monk's, 5. 138. At the sacrament, 5. 138. At General Court, 5. 138. Speaks his mind there, 5. 139. Moodey, etc., visit him, 5. 139. To Governor's, 5. 140. Waits on the President, 5. 141, 142. On Major Richards, 5. 141. To Mr. Stoughton's, 5. 142. To Muddy River, 5. 142. Visits B. Eliot, 5. 142. To see son at Newbury, 5. 143. To Salem, 5. 143. Waited on Council and took oath of allegiance, 5. 143. Received new commission as captain, 5. 143. At a fast, 5. 143. At son's funeral at Newbury, 5. 143. To Salem and Winnisimmet, 5. 144. Home, 5. 144. To fast at Dorchester, 5. 144. Supped at Stoughton's, 5. 144. To Cambridge lecture, 5. 144. Dined at Remington's, 5. 145. Goes the grand rounds, 5. 145. To Braintree, 5. 146. To Cambridge lecture, 5. 146. Dined at Gookin's, 5. 146. Discoursed with Capt. Eliot and Frary about the cross on the colors, 5. 147. Waits on President, 5. 148. Way at dinner, 5. 150. To Natick lecture, 5. 150. Calls on President, 5. 150. To Hog Island, 5. 151. Visits Bayley at Watertown, 5. 152. To Narragansett and Stonington, 5. 153. To Rhode Island and Bristow, 5. 153. To Newport, 5. 153. Home, 5. 153. To Cambridge lecture, 5. 153. With late Deputy-Governor at dinner, 5. 154. To Dorchester, 5. 154. To Braintree, 5. 154. Dined at Russel's, 5. 155. Ill of a cold, 5. 156. Returns his commission, 5. 156. Supped with Capt. Hill, 5. 156. To Roxbury lecture, 5. 157. Wrote to Stephen, 5. 157. To Capt. Gerrish's, 5. 157. To Cambridge lecture, 5. 158. Waits on Madam Bradstreet, 5. 159. Talked with J. Alcocke about his ill courses, 5. 164. Sups at Capt. Wing's, 5. 164. To Capt. Winthrop's, 5. 164. To Mr. Mather's church, 5. 164. At Mrs Savage's funeral, 5. 165. To Muddy River, 5. 165. To Morton's, at Charlestown, 5. 166. Visits Mr. Stoughton, 5. 167. To Mrs. Flint's funeral, 5. 169. To Charlestown lecture, and to see Major Gookin, 5 170. To Mrs. Eliot's funeral, and Mrs. Nowell's, 5. 171. To Hog Island, 5. 172. To Weymouth lecture, 5. 173. To Hog Island and is seised of the property, 5. 176. Signed the leases, 5. 176. To Reading and Salem, 5. 177. To Newbury, 5. 177. To Salem, 5. 178. To Charlestown lecture, 5. 178. Prays with Walker, 5. 179. To Chicver's, 5. 179. Kept fast, 5. 179. At funeral of two boys, 5. 180. To Dorchester lecture, 5. 180. Dined at Mrs. Flint's, 5. 180. Took wife to Muddy River, 5. 180, 181. To Roxbury, 5. 181. To Hog Island, 5. 181. Waited on Governor to Cambridge, 5. 181. Took wife to Cambridge, 5. 181. To Roxbury, 5. 181. To Usher's, and goes on board a ship to Alderton's Point, 5. 182. To Nantasket, 5. 182. At son's funeral, 5. 184. To Salem, to funeral of Capt. Gerrish, 5. 185. To Reading, 5. 185. To funeral of Goose's child, 5. 185. Bathed at Blackstone's Point, 5. 186. To Charlestown, 5. 186. At Elder Wiswall's funeral, 5. 186. Visited B. Eliot, 5. 186. To Braintree, 5. 187.

To Weymouth and Hingham, 5. 187. To Roxbury, and visits B. Eliot, 5. 188. To Dorchester to see Stoughton about lawsuit, 5. 188. Sets out for Portsmouth, and dines at Salem, 5. 188. Calls on Major Pike, 5. 188. Dined with the Judges, 5. 188. Dined at Waldron's, 5. 188. Ride to Bloody Point, and so to Hilton's Point, 5. 188. To the Salmon Falls, 5. 188. Visited Mrs. Rainer, etc., 5. 188. Rode to York, 5. 189. To Wells and to the Salmon Falls on Piscataqua River, 5. 189. Visited Hobbs's Hole, 5. 189. To Hampton and Newbury, 5. 189. Home, 5. 189. With Mr. Mather to visit Capt. Bradstreet, 5. 190. Fast at Mr. Allen's, 5. 190. With wife to Sherborn, 5. 190. Goes to see the farm, 5. 191. To Hog Island, 5. 191. To funeral of B. Eliot, 5. 192. To Roxbury lecture, 5. 192. Met Governor's lady, 5. 193. Offered his house to Lady Phips. 5. 193. At Mrs. Saffin's funeral, 5. 195. Began to make wharf at Hog Island, 5. 195. Lodged at the Island, 5. 195. To Roxbury lecture, 5. 197. President calls, 5. 197. To Charlestown lecture, 5. 198. To Cambridge lecture, 5. 198. Visited Mitchell and Fissenden, 5. 198. To Roxbury lecture, 5. 199. Gets a pair of Jerusalem garters from Gee, 5. 199. At Charlestown lecture, 5. 199. Has the measles, 5. 200. With C. Mather and Uncle Quinsey and Stoughton, 5. 201. To funeral of Lady Andros, 5. 202. To Newbury, to visit his mother, 5. 204. At Newbury Church, 5. 205. To Salem, 5. 205. To Portsmouth and the Great Island, 5 205. To Sagamore's Crick, 5. 205. With the Judges to Ipswich, 5. 205. Home by Roxbury, 5. 205. Davis wants him to give land for a church, but he refuses, 5 207. To Mr. Randolph's, 5. 207. To Neponset, and gets seisin of land there, 5. 208. To A. Way's, 5. 210. To Muddy River, 5. 210. To Dorchester lecture, 5. 210. To Hog Island, and took seisin of marsh, 5. 210. To Dorchester, 5. 211. To Hog Island, 5. 212. Speaks to Dudley about mode of swearing, 5. 212. To Charlestown lecture, 5. 213. To Hog Island, 5. 213. At town meeting, 5. 213. Dined at Mr. Willard's, 5. 214. To Hog Island, 5. 214. To Roxbury, 5. 215. To Watertown lecture, 5. 215. Waits on Sir W. Phips, 5. 217. To funeral of Mr. Brock, 5. 217. Dined at Cousin Savage's, 5. 217. To Hog Island, 5. 217. To welcome Sir W. Phips to town, 5. 217. Petitions Governor about his property of Hog Island, 5. 220. To Dedham with the Governor, 5. 221. Wrote to Wharton, 5. 221. To Neponset to see fulling-mill, 5. 221. At marriage of R. Fifield, 5. 222. Goes for midwife, 5. 222. Names his son Joseph, 5. 223. To Capt. Marshall's, 5. 224. To Salem, 5. 224. Discourses with Torrey about going to England, 5. 224. To Cambridge, 5. 225. Corrected Son Samuel, 5. 225. To Newbury, 5. 227. Dined at Moodey's, 5. 227. Visited Payson and Higginson and N. Mather at Salem, 5. 227. To Charlestown lecture, 5. 227. Dined at Russell's, 5. 228. Go on board the Duke's yacht, 5. 228. To Hog Island and take seisin of marsh, 5. 228. Day of prayer about going to England, 5. 228. At Danforth's wedding, 5. 228. At Mrs. Williams's meeting, 5. 229. Letter to Increase Mather, 5. 229. Went on board the ship 'America,' 5. 230. Gave the captain 20s. earnest, 5. 230. Wrote to S. Stoddard, 5. 230. To Watertown, 5. 230. Dined at Cambridge, 5. 230. Visited T. Baily, 5. 230. Visited Cousin Dummer, 5. 231. Letter to Increase Mather, 5. 231. To ordination of N. Walter, 5. 232. Dined at Mr. Dudley's, 5. 232. To a fast at Mr. Air's, 5. 232. At I. Walker's funeral, 5. 233. To Mr. Wilkins's, 5. 233. Visited Cousin Dummer, 5. 233. Presented account to the Governor, 5. 233. To Hog Island, 5. 234. Visited Mr. Smith, 5 234. To funeral of Mrs. Gookin, 5. 234. Pressed to appear in arms at Town House, 5. 235. To the Governor and take leave, 5. 235. At Capt. Smith's funeral, 5. 235. To meeting at Mrs. Averie's and at Capt. Davis's, 5. 236. Goes on board the 'America,' 5. 236. Journal of his visit to England, 5. 236. Sets sail from Boston for England, 5. 237. Cut to the heart at eating his wife's pastry, 5. 237. Speaks ship bound for London, 5. 241. Sees Capt. Tucker, of the 'Betty' of London, 5. 243. In danger of Scilly Isles, 5. 244. Sees Isle of Wight, 5. 245. Goes ashore at Dover and views the fort, 5. 246. Visited Canterbury, Chatham, Rochester, Sittingbourne, Dartford, 5. 247. To Southwark, 5 247. There hires a coach to Cousin Hull's, 5. 247. Visited the Temple, Whitehall, Westminster Abbey, etc., 5. 247. Wrote to Mr. Flavel, 5. 247. Letter to T. Papillon, 5. 251. To Greenwich, Deptford, Redriff, etc., 5 252. To Dr. Annesley's, 5. 253. To Windsor, Eton, Hampton Court, 5. 254. Went to wait on the King and Council about the Charter, 5. 254, 256. To Cambridge with Increase Mather, and saw the various Colleges, etc., 5. 259. Coming

Sewall, Samuel, *continued.*
back, visited Audley End Palace, Safron-Waldon, etc., 5. 261. At Mr. Croper's heard the news of the Revolution at Boston. 5. 261. Letters to T. Papillon and Dr. O. Grew, 5. 262. Letter to T. Goodwin, 5. 263. Saw Thomas Saffin's tomb, 5. 264. Went to Plymouth, 5. 274. To Cornwall, 5. 275. Sets sail for America, 5. 278. Makes a will, 5. 282. Landed at Great Island and ride to Newbury, 5. 284. Memoranda from leaves at end of book containing Journal of his foreign trip, being an account of various disbursements while in England, 5. 284. Items omitted in his diary, 5 293. Landed at Dover, 5. 293. Visited Canterbury and the Cathedral, 5. 293. To Winchester, 5. 294. To Southampton, 5. 295. To Salisbury, and viewed the Cathedral, 5. 296. To Lee, and saw his house and lands there, 5. 298. To Stoke, 5. 298. To Portsmouth, 5. 299. Visit to Oxford, 5. 301. To Coventry, 5. 304. Home Journal resumed, 5. 308. Took oaths, 5. 308. To the Town House, and there spoke to and prayed with condemned pirates, 5. 309. Dined with Bradstreet and others, 5. 311. Visited Mr. Eliot and Madam Dudley, 5. 312. Signs and gives warrant to constables about suppressing unlawful assemblies, 5. 313. Is chosen guardian to Samuel Haugh, 5. 313. Letter to Mr. Stoughton about disposing of the Friend Indians, 5. 313. Meeting at Stoughton's, 5. 314. Writes to Capt. Wiswall, 5. 314. Letter to J. Webb, Clerk of the Writs, 5. 314. Gives the name of Woodstock to New Roxbury, 5. 315. To Dorchester, and dined with Stoughton, 5. 315. Sent for by Governor, 5. 316. Trains with South Company, 5. 316. Went to the castle about constructing batteries, 5. 316. To Deer Island and Apple Island, 5. 316. To New York with Mr. Stoughton to meeting of commissioners, 5 317. To Bristow and Newport, 5. 318. To Brooklyn, and dined with Governor of New York, 5. 318. Home, 5. 319. Waited on Governor and Council, 5. 319. Visited Mr. Eliot, 5. 320. Copy of letter in Baylies' 'Plymouth,' 5 320. At a fast at Charlestown, 5. 321. Sat in Council, 5. 321. To Mr. Eliot's funeral, 5. 321. To Winnisinmet, 5. 322. Married Capt. Frary to Mrs Greenwood, 5. 322. Subscribes for the Albany expedition, 5. 323. At Mrs. Winthrop's funeral, 5. 323. To Braintree and Cambridge, 5. 323. At Mrs. Taylor's funeral, 5. 324. Visits Saltonstall at Cambridge, 5. 325. Quarrel with E. Rawson about deeds, 5. 325. Witnesses Cousin Quinsey's will, 5. 326. To Dorchester, to meet Gov. Hinkley, 5. 326. Dined with Stoughton, 5. 326. To Nantasket, 5. 326. Visited ships of war, 5. 327. Dined at Hull with Sir W. Phips, 5. 327. Home, 5. 327. Read and prayed with Cousin Quinsey, 5. 327. At funeral of Cousin Quinsey, 5. 327. Names his daughter Judith, 5. 328. Kept watch, 5. 329. To Cambridge, 5. 329. Removed his pew, so as to sit with Deputy-Governor, etc., 5. 330. Kept watch. 5. 330. At funeral of Mr. Willard's son, 5. 331. At funeral of daughter Judith, 5. 332. To Dorchester lecture, 5. 332. At Mrs. Cook's funeral, 5. 333. To fast at Roxbury, 5. 333. At Mrs. Goose's funeral, 5. 333. To Col. Paige's, 5. 333. Meeting at his house with Mr. Willard and others, 5. 334. At funeral of J. Osgood, 5. 335. At Major S. Ward's funeral, 5. 335. To Dorchester and Braintree, 5. 336. Signed a lease to N. Haydon, 5. 336. Meeting at Capt. Hill's, and read sermon partly composed by self in London, 5. 336. To funeral of John Hews, 5. 337. Visited Sir W. Phips, 5. 337. Dined at Royal Exchange with Sir W. Phips, etc., 5. 338. Visited Maj.-Gen. Winthrop, 5. 338. Heard Thacher preach, 5. 338. At funeral of John Clark, 5 338. To Sir W. Phips's, 5. 339. Visited Savage at Reading, and Capt. Clap, 5. 339. To C. Mather's, and expostulate, 5. 339. Stoughton and Dudley call, 5. 340. Gives warrant to search for T. Hill, 5. 341. Kept watch, 5. 341, 342. To Hog Island, 5. 341. To Roxbury, 5. 342. At Charlestown lecture, 5. 343. Proved Greenland's will, 5. 343. Set sail for Newbury, 5. 343. Takes livery of John Kent's lot, 5. 343. To the Falls and Salem, 5. 343. Home, 5. 343. To Mystick, 5. 344. Dined with selectmen, 5. 344. Led the South Company into the Common, and then to the Governor, 5. 344. With Deputy-Governor to speak to Stoughton, 5. 345. Waited on him at Dorchester, 5. 345. To Salem, and viewed the fortifications, 5. 346. Witnessed will of Rev. J. Wilson, 5. 346. Kept watch, 5. 346. To Hog Island, 5. 346. Sentenced and admonished various people, 5. 347. To Charlestown lecture, and thence to Cambridge to visit Deputy-Governor, 5. 347. Visited the College, 5. 347. At fast at Charlestown, 5. 347. To Dorchester fast, 5. 348. Supped with Stoughton, 5. 348. Visited Deputy-Governor, 5. 348. Dined at Mrs. Man's, with the Governor, 5. 349. At

the trial of E. Clements for murder, 5. 349. At meeting at Serj. Bull's, 5. 350. Declines serving longer as a captain, 5. 350. Took his four children to receive R. Saunderson's blessing, 5. 350. Visited C. Mather, 5. 350. To New Cambridge, 5. 351. To funeral of Mrs. Richards, 5. 352. At Council of Churches at Lynn, 5. 352. To New Cambridge to see son, 5. 353. To Muddy River, 5. 353. To funeral of Timothy Dwight, 5 354. Visits Major Johnson and Mrs. Pool, 5. 355. Made an order as to Constable J. Mason, 5. 357. At Mrs. Townsend's funeral, 5. 358. To Salem, where persons accused of witchcraft were examined, 5. 358. Waited on Deputy-Governor to town, 5. 360. Went to see his father, 5. 360. At first General Council, 5. 361. Fast at Capt. Alden's, 5. 361. Receives account of his father's family, 5. 361. Read a sermon, 5. 362. Took his mother to visit son at Newton, 5. 362. To fast at Roxbury, and thence to funeral of Rev. N. Gookin, 5. 363. To Watertown, with Deputy-Governor, 5. 363. To Hog Island, 5. 366. To Newton, to see Son Samuel, 5. 366. Visits Mr. Torrey, 5. 366. To funeral of Mrs. Oliver, 5 366. To Cambridge, to see Mr. Danforth about the witchcraft, 5. 367. To Salem, to see sick brother, 5. 367. Drew up a bill for those appointed to marry, 5. 368. Whipped Son Joseph smartly, 5. 369. At Thanksgiving at Mr. Cook's, 5. 369. Drove tree-nail in Governor's brigantine, 5. 369. Chosen a judge, 5. 370. With Lieutenant-Governor to Watertown, 5. 371. To Newton, to see Samuel, 5. 372. Saw and heard Simon Bradstreet publish codicil to his will, 5. 372. At Charlestown, 5. 373. To Roxbury lecture, 5. 373. Letter to Major Saltonstall, 5. 373. Delivered it to Major Saltonstall, 5. 374. At funeral of Mr. Holyoke's twins, 5. 374. Letter to ——, 5. 375. Waits on Lieutenant-Governor at Watertown, 5. 376. To Cambridge, 5. 376. With Capt. Gookin to Watertown, 5. 377. Called at Justice Bond's, 5. 377. Begins rebuilding his house (the Hull House on Tremont Street), 5. 377. Visited Capt. Alden and wife, 5. 379. At Mrs. Howchin's funeral, 5. 380. Goes to the Deputy's, 5. 380. To Mr. Goose, about wife's pew, 5. 380. Goes for midwife, 5. 381. Visits Mr Thacher, of Milton, 5 381. At Mrs. M. Nowell's funeral, 5. 381. At Capt. Eliot's funeral, 5. 382. Visits Mr. Torrey, 5. 382. Returns from Point Judith, 5. 383. To Roxbury lecture, 5. 383. List of his children, and their baptisms, 5. 383. At daughter's funeral, 5. 384. Took Hannah to Salem, 5. 385. At Ipswich lecture, 5. 385. To Newton, to see Samuel, 5. 385. Voted for bill about representatives, 5 386. To an ordination at Dedham, 5 387. To Salem with Lieutenant-Governor, 5. 387. To funeral of Judge How, 5. 388. Fell and rased his right leg, 5. 388. Offered Cook £100 for Capt. Wincoll's old debt, 5. 389. With Chief Justice to Plymouth, 5. 389. To the castle, with Governor, etc., to view the works, 5. 389. At funeral of Major Richards, 5. 390. To Bride-Brook, 5. 390. To funeral of Hezekiah Henchman, 5. 390. Waited on Governor to the Commencement, 5. 390. Gave oaths to assessors at town-meeting, 5. 391. To Albany, 5. 391. To Newton, to visit Samuel, 5. 391. At Mrs. Pole's funeral, 5. 391. With Governor and Council, to see Governor sail, 5. 393. Put up bill to thank God for wife's deliverance, 5. 394. Names daughter Sarah, 5. 395. To the Town House, to a meeting, 5. 395. Waited on Lieutenant-Governor to Braintree, 5. 396. Had curious dream, 5. 396. To Charlestown with Lieutenant-Governor, etc., to visit Morton and Graves, 5. 397. To keep Court at Plymouth, 5. 399. To Hingham, 5. 399. Distressing dream, 5. 399. To meeting at Oliver's, 5. 400. Planted trees at Wheeler's Pond, 5. 401. Visits Lady Phips, 5. 404. Sets out to Newbury, 5. 405. To Portsmouth, 5. 405. Held Court over against Dover, 5. 405. To funeral of Mrs. Redford, 5. 405. To Newbury and Ipswich, 5 406. Walk to Argilla, 5. 406. At election, 5. 406. Kept day of prayer in secret, respecting Mother Hull's death, etc., 5. 409. At Watertown, 5. 409. Rode to Cambridge to hold Court, 5. 409. Issued the Court, 5. 410. Home by Charlestown, 5. 410. At meeting at Capt. Alden's, 5. 410. Has a fast, 5. 410. To Dorchester lecture, 5. 411. To Mrs. Flint's, 5. 411. Dined at Monk's, 5. 411. To Neponset, Bristow, and Reboboth, 5 412. To Taunton and Bridgewater, 5. 412. On return, dined at Braintree, 5. 412. Torrey, Willard, etc., dine with him in his new house, 5. 413. At Mrs. Saunderson's funeral, 5. 414. Letter to Capt. Frary, 5. 414. Visits Dame Walker, 5. 417. At her funeral, 5. 417. Day of fasting, 5. 418. Wrote to Z. Walker about his mother's death, 5. 418. To Cambridge, to visit Danforth, 5. 419. To Mr. Willard's, 5. 421. To Brookline and Cambridge,

Sewall, Samuel, *continued.*
5. 422. To meeting at Mrs. Noyes's, 5. 422. Prayed alone with Samuel, 5. 423. To Increase Mather's, 5. 425. Endeavor to arrange difference between Frary and Perry, 5. 425. To Ipswich Court, 5. 426. To Newbury and Salem, 5. 426. Grief about still-born son, 5. 426. Election, 5. 426. Strives to have days of week altered, 5. 428. Lieutenant-Governor and Council meet at his house, 5. 429. Letter to Mrs. Oakes, 5. 432. Visited Mrs. Collins, etc., 5. 433. To Dorchester, and waits on Lieutenant-Governor, 5. 435. Sims dined with him, 5. 435. To Salem, with Cooke, 5. 436. Dined at Major Brown's, 5. 437. Dined at Lieutenant-Governor's, 5. 438. To Mr. Willard's, 5. 442. Buries daughter, 5. 443. Sees coffins of various relations, 5. 443. Gave rings to Mr. Willard and the President, and sent one to the Governor, 5. 444. Buried abortive son, 5. 444. His petition put up on the Fast day, 5. 445. Lodged in Mr. Harvard's house at Charlestown, 5. 446. His "holy thoughts" there, 5. 447. Meeting at his house, with Mr. Willard, etc., about South Church, 5. 448. Visits H. Usher and Mr. Willard, 5. 449. To Plymouth, 5. 450. Visits Mrs. Cushman, 5. 450. To ordination at Watertown, 5. 450. Read part of his 'Phænomena' to Lieutenant-Governor, who licenses its printing, 5. 450. At Mrs. Danforth's funeral, 5. 451. To Salem, and met Governor and a troop, 5. 451. Viewed the fort, 5. 451. At Gov. Bradstreet's funeral, 5. 451. Wrought off and corrected first sheet of 'Phænomena.' 5. 453. To Salem and Ipswich, 5. 453. To Rowley and Newbury, 5. 453. Disputes with Noyes about the fifth seal, 5. 453. To Charlestown, 5. 453. Election day, 5. 454. To funeral of his old tutor, Thomas Graves, 5. 454. To Newton, with wife, 5. 454. Dined at Hobart's, 5. 455. Visits Uncle Quinsey and Madam Dudley, 5. 455. With wife, to Commencement, 5. 456. At Mr. Moodey's funeral, and Mr. Frost's, 5. 456. At H. Usher's funeral, 5. 457. To the Neck, to see the land laid out for salt works, 5. 457. At fast at Cousin Savage's, 5. 458. At the Council, 5. 458. Refers to discovery of limestone, 5. 458. To Bristow, 5. 459. Dined at Woodcock's, 5. 459. Go by Wrentham, 5. 459. Views Baxter's house and orchard, 5. 459. Visited Capt. Thurston and Belchar, 5. 459. To Hog Island, 5. 460. Printed off last sheet of 'Phænomena,' and gave to Governor, 5. 461. Waits on Lieutenant-Governor at Dorchester, 5. 461. To Mr. Morton's and Mr. Baily's, 5. 462. Gave copy of his 'Epistle to the Lieutenant-Governor' to Mr. Flint, 5. 462. At the Council, and gave Lieutenant-Governor seven copies of 'Phænomena,' 5. 463. To Salem, with Major-General, 5. 463. Lodged with Hale, and discourse about his writing history of the witchcraft, 5. 464. To Mrs. Thacher's funeral, 5. 464. Visited Uncle Quinsey, and met Torrey, 5. 464. To Cambridge, 5. 464. Visited the President, 5. 465. To Braintree, 5. 465. To Charlestown and visited Mr. Clark, 5. 466. To funeral of Uncle Quinsey, and of Capt. Scottow, 5. 467. To Court at Charlestown, 5. 468. Nominated executor by Mrs. R. Carter, and at her funeral, 5. 468. Account of funerals he has been at, 5. 469. At Col. Shrimpton's funeral, 5. 470. Visits Mr. Morton, 5. 471. To Charlestown, 5. 471. Rides over to G. Bairsto's and Widow Gates's, 5. 472. Sets out for Plymouth, 5. 472. At the Court, 5. 472. Prays for family, Plymouth, etc, 5. 473. Dines at Coles's, 5. 473. Discoursed with Mr. and Mrs. Cotton, 5. 473. Visited and dined with Mr. Wiswall, 5. 473. Town-meeting, 5. 474. Is chosen Moderator, 5. 474. Town offices held by him, at this period, 5. 474. Sent 'Phænomena,' well bound, to College Library, 5. 475. To Braintree to a fast, 5. 475. To Hog Island, 5. 475. Sold his 600-acre lot at Narragansett, 5. 475. Visited Mr. Morton on his death-bed, 5. 476. To funeral of Mr. Morton, 5 477. To Roxbury and Muddy River, and sets trees in Common, etc., 5. 478. Signed writ for adjourning Superior Court, 5. 478. To Muddy River, with wife and children, 5. 479. Go to meet Governor, 5 480. Divided the Haugh's tenement, 5. 481. Walked on Cotton Hill to Beacon Hill, 5. 481. Rode to Cambridge and Charlestown, 5. 482. Set out for Springfield, 5. 482. To Quaboag, 5. 482. Opened the Court at Springfield, 5. 483. To Northampton, 5. 483. Heard Mr. I. Chauncy preach his first sermon at Hadley, 5. 483. Returning left Lieutenant-Governor, 5. 484. To Rehoboth and Bristol, 5. 484. Held Court there, 5. 484. Dined at Woodcock's, and met Mr. Man at Meadfield, 5. 484. Letter to the Governor, 5. 485. At Joseph Webb's funeral, 5. 485. Goes to acquaint Mr. Increase Mather of desire for his removal to Cambridge, 5. 487. Visits Capt. Wyllys, who dies in his presence, 5. 488. At his funeral, 5. 488. To

Roxbury lecture, 5. 488. Visited Mr. Walter and Madam Dudley, 5. 489. At Town House, and took the new oath, 5. 489. His prejudices as to Christmas Day, 5. 489. Speaks to Mr. Mico about Capt. Tuttle, 5. 490. Dines at Mrs. Solomon Stoddard's, 5. 491. Sent Mr. Tuthill away, who courted his daughter Betty, 5. 491. To Dorchester and Roxbury lecture, 5. 492. At Mrs. Phillips's funeral, 5. 492. Had a tooth drawn, 5. 494. Mr. Willard comes and prays, 5. 495. To Nepouset and Roxbury, 5. 495. To Hog Island, 5. 498. Dined with Governor and lady at Mr. Sergeant's, 5. 498. Visited Lieutenant-Governor, 5. 498. To Pulling Point, with Willard, 5. 499. Lord Bellomont gives him his commission as Judge of Superior Court, 5. 500. Was sworn in, 5. 500. Dines at home alone on baked potatoes and a piece of cake, 5. 500. Shows Lady Bellomont the town from Cotton Hill, 5. 500. Sets out for Bristow, 5. 501. To Newport and Narragansett, 5. 501. To Canonicut and Mattoonnck, 5. 501. Dines with Governor of Rhode Island, 5. 501. At Bristow and Rehoboth, 5. 502. To Dedham, 5. 502. Meets Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Increase Mather, etc., about Indian affair, or Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, 5. 502. Increase Mather visits him, and gives one of his books of sermons, 5. 503. Rode with Governor to Dorchester Neck, 5. 504. Visits Mr. Danforth, 5. 504. At his funeral, 5. 505. At Hiller's, about wife's virginals, 5. 506. Mr. Colman visits him, 5. 506. In bed, with ague in his face, 5. 507. Governor, Lady, etc., dine with him in the New Hall, 5. 507. To lecture, wearing black cap, 5. 508. The lines composed by him, referred to at page 336, 5. 510. Puts up bill on Fast-day, 6. 7*. Captaincy of Artillery Company, 6. 7*. Speech to the South Company, 6. 9*. Letter to Joseph Dudley, 6. 9*. His 'Commonplace Book,' 6. 12*. His family record, 6. 13*. At Cousin Daniel Quinsey's marriage, 6. 18*. At ordination of Nathaniel Gookin, 6. 20*. Goes to Gov. Bradstreet's, 6. 20*. At council of churches in Boston, 6. 21*. Reads the book against the Governor in London, 6. 29*. His protest against the statement that Council had passed a vote unanimously, 6. 30*. His quarrel with Mather, 6. 30*. Subscriptions for St. Christopher's to be intrusted to his hands, 6. 95*. He remonstrates against a rash vote relating to Gov. Dudley, 6. 110*, 111*. Copy of his reasons for doing so, 6. 110*, 111*. He is misrepresented, 6. 112*. His Instrument of Revocation, 6. 115*. The noble pattern given by Judge Sewall, 6. 123*. A hundred men as fit to be councillors as S. S., etc., 6. 124*. Gives Rivet's works to Mr. Willard, 6. 1. At Dame Townsend's funeral, 6. 1. To Willard's with Lieutenant-Governor, 6. 2. Waits on Lieutenant-Governor at Cooper's 6. 2. Holds Court, 6. 2. At a fast at new church, 6. 2. Visits Lord Bellomont, 6. 3. His silence about the witchcraft trials, and also as to Capt. Kidd, the pirate, 6. 3. At the Council, 6. 4. Sees a negro killed, 6. 5. Prays, 6. 6. Sits up to see eclipse of moon, 6. 7. Visits Mrs. Williams, 6. 7. Helps to ship off Kidd's treasure, 6. 7. Goes to Lord Bellomont, 6. 7. To Cambridge to see Mr. Pemberton, as to South Church's call, 6. 8. Dined at Remington's, and visited Mr. Brattle, 6. 8. At town-meeting, 6. 8. At Mrs. Collins's funeral, 6. 9. Sets off for Plymouth, and visits Mr. Torrey and Mr. Norton, 6. 9. Holds Court, 6. 9. Sups at Mr. Little's, 6. 9. Returns by decked sloop, 6. 10. Meets Lieutenant-Governor, 6. 10. Meeting at his house about adjusting differences relating to Mrs. Estabrooks and her father, 6. 10. Finds verses on Son John, 6. 11. Receives Usher's house and ground on the Common, 6. 11. Sends Mrs. Usher a cord of wood, 6 11. Goes to fish in the harbor, 6. 12. President desires him to send for various books, 6 13. To Kittery and Salem, 6 13. Visits his father at Newbury, 6. 13. Goes on to Portsmouth, 6 13. Holds Court at Spruce Creek, 6. 14. Rides to Hampton and lodges at Cotton's, 6. 14. Buries his father at Newbury, 6. 14. To Ipswich, and holds Court, 6. 14. To Salem, to Brother Stephen, 6. 14. Proves his father's will, 6. 14. Returns home, 6. 14. Visits John Eyre, 6. 15. At his funeral, 6. 16. Sewall's antislavery tract, 'The Selling of Joseph,' 6. 16. Waits on Mr. Mather, 6. 18 To funeral of Mrs. Sprague, 6. 20. Letter from 'Strephen,' 6. 21. At Adam Winthrop's funeral, 6 . Prays with Henry Cole, 6. 21. At ordination of Mr. Pemberton, 6. 21. Goes to Mr. Googe and warns him to quit S. S.'s house at Cotton Hill, 6. 22. Attests the banns of two negroes, 6. 22. Letter to Grove Hirst, 6. 23. At a fast at new meeting-house, 6. 23. At marriage of Daughter Elizabeth to Grove Hirst, 6. 24. To meeting with his family, 6. 24. At a council, 6. 24. At Madam Sergeant's funeral, 6. 25. At Thomas Brough-

Sewall, Samuel, *continued.*
ton's, 6. 25. At Mrs. Lynde's funeral, 6. 26. Verses on public thanksgiving, 6. 26. Rode to Salem, 6. 26. Sups at Mr. Hirst's, 6. 26. To funeral of Aunt Quinsey, 6. 26. To Dorchester, 6. 27. Verses on new century, 6. 27. Gave Dr. Owen on 'Hebrews' to College Library, 6. 28. Takes affidavits, 6. 28. At Mrs. Thair's funeral, 6. 29. Waits on Lieutenant-Governor, 6. 29. Letter to a lady, 6. 29. Sets off to Newbury, his mother having died, 6. 29. At her funeral, 6. 30. Makes an address at the grave, 6. 30. At Sister Gerrish's, 6. 31. To Ipswich, 6. 31. Hears Mr. Rogers preach, 6. 31. To Brother Stephen's, 6. 31. Visits Madam Bradstreet and Major Brown, 6. 31. Also Lieut.-Gov. Usher, 6. 31. To Dedham lecture, 6. 31. Dined with Mr. Belchar, 6. 32. Gave away some of the 'New Year Verses,' 6. 32. Gave Lieutenant-Governor a ring in remembrance of his (S. S.'s) mother, 6. 32. To Maj.-Gen. Winthrop's, 6. 32. At Mr. Taylor's funeral, 6. 32. To Sudbury, 6. 34. Visits Mr. Brinsmead, 6. 34. Waits on Eliakim Hutchinson, 6. 34. To Mr. Belchar's, 6. 35. Elected captain of Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, 6. 35. Speech to the same, and treats them at his house, 6. 36. Remonstrates with Josiah Willard for wearing a wig, 6. 36. Visits Lieutenant-Governor and dines with him, 6. 38. Last time he sees him (Lieut.-Gov. Stoughton), 6. 38. At Ipswich Court, 6. 39. Tries Esther Rogers for murder, 6. 39. Speech on sentencing her to death, 6. 39. To Salem, 6. 39. To Dorchester lecture, 6. 39. To the Castle about the differences between the Captain and Col. Romer, 6. 40. To Rehoboth and Bristow, 6. 41. Waits on Mr. Mather about Gospel Propagation Society, 6. 41. At artillery training, and presents the company with a half-pike engraved with a motto, 6. 42. Difference with Cotton Mather, 6. 43. Visits and expostulates with him, 6. 44. To the Council, 6. 45. To Salem to keep Court, 6. 46. To the Manifesto Church, 6 48. At Mr Colman's church, 6. 48. Memoranda and remarks as to wife and children, 6. 50. Prays for a nurse and gets an answer, 6. 51. Gives his Hebrew Lexicon to Cousin Samuel Moodey, 6. 52. Has a dream, 6. 53. Sees a comet, 6. 53. At Mrs. Pope's funeral, 6. 53. At death of Capt. Alden, 6. 54. At artillery training, 6. 54. Speech to the company, and presents Ensign Noyes with a silver cup, 6. 55. At Kittery Circuit, 6. 56. Willard and other ministers dine with him, 6. 57. Goes in pinnace to meet Gov. Dudley on his arrival from England, 6. 57. Speech on the occasion, 6. 58. Governor calls on him, 6. 59. To Marblehead, Salem, and Ipswich, 6. 60. To Dedham lecture, 6. 60. Visits and sups with Madam Dudley, 6. 60. Reads Dr. Sibbs's sermon to Mrs. Mary Rock, 6. 60. Visits Madam Dudley, 6. 61. To dinner at Gov. Dudley's, 6. 61. Puts up a note, 6. 61. To Salem, 6. 61. Reproves D. Simons for going naked, 6. 61. To Rowley and the Falls, 6. 61. At Sister Moodey's funeral (Mehetable Sewall), 6. 61. To Andover, and thence to Woburn through the Land of Nod, 6. 62. Views the hop-yards and discourses with Converse, 6. 62. At Council, 6. 63. Gives in to town clerk the names of Son Samuel and Rebecca Dudley for purpose of marriage, 6. 63. Gives Madam Cooke a ring in memory of Sister Moodey, 6. 63. Goes on Bristol journey, 6. 64. At Son Samuel's marriage, 6. 65. At Council, 6. 65. Discussion about a Fast-day, 6. 65. With the Governor to Cambridge, 6. 66. Drove a pin, 6. 66. With Governor to Hog Island, 6. 66. Into College Yard and Library, 6. 67. Waits on the Governor to Woburn, 6. 67. Visits Samuel Whiting, 6. 67. To Dunstable, saw and drank of Merrimack, 6. 67. To Groton, 6. 67. To Cambridge, 6. 67. Dined with Governor at Leverett's, 6. 68. To Salem, 6. 68. At Cambridge Court, 6. 68. Speaks to Grand Jury, 6. 69. To Salem to Mrs. Hirst's (daughter), 6. 69. First heard of Calamy's History, 6. 70. To Roxbury to visit daughter (Dudley) Mrs. Samuel, 6. 70. Is weighed, and finds his weight to be 193 pounds net, 6. 71. At Council, 6. 71. To hold Court at Charlestown, 6. 71. Visits the Governor, 6. 72. And sick brother at Salem, 6. 72. To Roxbury to see Governor about illuminations, 6. 72. To Salem, 6. 73. At town-meeting to choose representatives, 6. 74. S. S. chosen moderator, 6. 74. Lotted fence on Cotton Hill, 6. 75. Set out for Plymouth, 6. 75. Private religious exercises in meeting-house, 6. 75. At Mr. Torrey's, 6. 75. Visits and lays out his farm at Holliston, 6. 76. Asserts his bounds, 6. 76. Visits Mr. Hobart, 6. 77. Sets out for Newbury, 6. 77. To Portsmouth and Kittery, 6. 77. To Ipswich and Salem, 6 77. Elected a deputy, 6. 78. Dined at Monk's, 6. 79. At town-meeting, 6. 79. Drinks with Mr. Cooke, 6. 79. His verses about

wigs, 6. 79. To son's house-raising at Muddy River, 6. 80. Drove a pin, 6. 80. Sick with a swollen face, 6. 80. To Cambridge with Son Joseph, 6. 80. Again to the same, 6. 81. To Charlestown to meet Governor, 6. 81. Visits Mrs. Samuel on grandson's birth, 6. 82, 84. Saw the Dream (drain), 6. 84. To Cambridge about study for Joseph, 6. 84. Reads the transaction of Governor with the Indians, 6. 85. Takes Joseph to Cambridge, 6. 87. At funeral of Banister's daughter, 6. 88. At artillery training, 6. 88. Sets out for Wrentham, 6. 88. To Rehoboth and Bristow, 6. 88. Visits son at Muddy River, 6. 89. At Capt. Sprague's funeral, 6. 89. At Grandson Hull Sewall's funeral, 6. 91. Marries Briso's daughter, 6. 91. Took copies of Willard's books to various persons, 6. 92. Prays at Mrs. Stevens's, 6. 92. At meeting of Overseers, 6. 92. Visits disorderly poor, 6. 93. Speaks to Capt. Clark about wearing a wig, 6. 93. Tells his wife she shall keep the cash in future, 6. 93. To Dorchester lecture, 6 93. Went into burying-place there, 6. 94. Discussion with Mr. Hobart, 6. 94. Paid legacy to Sarah Mountfort, 6. 94. To granddaughter's baptism, 6. 94. Fasted and prayed that Satan no longer buffet self and wife, 6. 95. To Charlestown lecture, 6. 95. At Dean Winthrop's funeral, 6. 96. To Braintree, 6. 97. Holds Court at Plymouth, 6. 97. Prays at Cushing's, 6. 97. Visits Mr. Torrey and the Governor, 6. 97. And Son Samuel at Brookline, 6. 97. Drives a nail, 6. 97. His remarks to Governor as to death of Samuel Dudley, 6. 98. Visits Rev. Henry Gibbs, 6. 98. To Salem, 6. 99. Speaks with Noyes about the 'death of the witnesses,' 6. 99. His 'bickerings' with Rev. Nicholas Noyes about 'prophetical mysteries,' 6. 99. Dined at Malden, 6. 100. To the funeral of N. Oliver, 6. 100. To Cambridge and heard Mr. Willard, 6. 100. Visits little Judith and Mr. Belchar, 6. 101. To Salem, Ipswich, Rowley, and Newbury, 6. 101. Visits the Pierces, 6. 102. To Salem, and talked with Mr. Noyes, 6. 102. To Cambridge to meet Governor, 6. 102. To the Council, 6. 102. Ordered by Governor to search for and seize pirates and their treasure, and to hold Court of Enquiry at Marblehead, 6. 103. To Salem, and hears rumor about Quelch's Company, 6. 103. Sends off Wakefield with a warrant to see about it, 6. 103. Holds Court at Marblehead, 6. 103. Being alarmed about rumors of pirates, directed Col. Legg to send warrants to Cape Ann, 6. 104. And wrote to Col. Wainwright to a like effect, 6. 104. Sends off Brother Stephen and a large crew in the 'Trial,' 6. 105. Back to Boston, 6. 105. Rejoiced to hear of brother's great success, 6. 105. Refers to report in the 'News Letter' as to capture and trial of the pirates, 6. 106. Dines with Council at 'North's,' 6. 108. Hears Cotton Mather preach and catechise the condemned prisoners, 6. 108. At Madam Richards's funeral, 6. 109. Goes to see the execution of the pirates, Capt. Quelch and others, 6. 109. At Madam Paige's funeral, 6. 111. Orders a special grave dug for Lambert (a pirate), 6. 111. Reads the trial of the pirates, 6. 111. To Cambridge with Mr. Brattle, 6. 111. Waits on Governor, 6. 111. To Brookline and dined with Son Samuel, Governor, etc, 6. 112. To Dedham, 6. 112. Hear Mr. Belchar, and dines at Avery's, 6. 112. At Thomas Weld's funeral, 6. 112. To Cambridge Court, 6. 114. To Dedham and Medfield, 6. 114. At Gookin's, 6. 114. At South Church, 6. 115. Alarm of fire, 6. 115. To Roxbury lecture, 6. 115. Visited Mr. Bayley, 6. 115. Waited on Madam Dudley, and presented her Mr. Fowl's books, 6. 115. Sets out for Bridgewater, 6. 115. Partakes of the Lord's Supper at Mr. Keith's, 6. 115. To Taunton, 6. 115. Stayed at Sparhawk's and had a sore throat, 6. 116. Holds Court. 6 116. At Pappasquash, Rehoboth, and Dedham, 6. 116. At funeral of Mrs. Tuthill, 6. 117. To Dedham lecture, 6. 117. Dined with Belchar, 6. 117. Visits Col. Savage, 6. 117. To Roxbury lecture, 6. 117. Conversation with Mather about prophecies, 6. 117. To Salem, 6. 118. At Major Davis's funeral, 6. 118. To Charlestown lecture, 6. 118. Discoursed about committee's action against him about his claim to the Land of Nod, 6. 118. To Brookline, 6. 118. His 'Commonplace Book,' 6. 118. To ordination of N. Gookin of Cambridge Church, 6. 118. Meets there Mr. Zadori, 6. 118. At funeral of Richard Wilkins, 6. 119. Receives a levet on New Year's day morning, 6. 121. Dines at Paul Dudley's with Governor, etc., 6. 121. To the funeral of Mrs. Mason, 6. 121. To Council Chamber, and thence to funeral of Madam Sarah Leverett, 6. 121. Had warm discourse with Governor, 6 121. His portrait by Emmons, 6. 121. To Brookline, 6. 122. Dined there, 6. 122. Buys Flavell's Works and gives to Mr. Forster, 6. 122. Holds Superior Court at Charlestown, 6. 122. Sees for first

Sewall, Samuel, *continued.*
time Works of Justus Heurnius, 6. 123. To Willard's lecture, 6. 123. Has a very sad dream, 6. 123. At Council, 6. 124. Disturbance with Governor about Morse's business, 6. 124. At Mrs. Odlin's funeral, 6. 124. Is much disturbed about the Charlestown suit as to the Land of Nod, 6. 124. Goes to Charlestown and pleads at the Court about it, 6. 124. Dined at Col. Lynde's, 6. 124. At Council, 6. 125. Discussion as to Lason's case, 6. 125. To Charlestown Court, 6. 126. Dines at Hutchison's, 6. 126. There meets Governor, and congratulates him on his great deliverance (from storm in returning from Piscataqua), 6. 126. Visited Mr. Bayley, 6. 126. Sets out for Weymouth, 6. 127. Sentenced Holbrook for drunkenness, 6. 127. Lodged at Mr. Torrey's, 6. 127. Begins his birthday in the meeting-house, 6. 127. Visits Madam Shepard, 6. 127. Meets the sheriff at Barker's, 6. 128. At funeral of young Mr. Allen, 6. 128. Is on a committee about titles to land, 6. 128. And also to draw up instructions to selectmen, etc., 6. 129. Also about getting a house for Ezekiel Cheever, 6. 129. Grants a strip of land to town of Boston, 6. 129. At funeral of Paul Dudley's son, 6. 130. Also of Sarah Bennet, 6. 130. Also of Capt. Allen's wife, 6. 130. To Brookline, 6. 130. And Roxbury lecture, 6. 130. Visited Mr. Bayley, 6. 130. At election of representatives, 6. 130. Debate with Governor as to his authority respecting the Speaker, 6. 131. Goes to thank Mr. Esterbrooks for his sermon, 6. 132. To Commencement, 6. 133. At funeral of Col. Savage, 6. 134. Is visited by B. Lothrop and gives him Cotton Mather's Sermon, etc., 6. 134. Goes a fishing in the harbor, 6 134. Visited the Castle and Governor's Island, 6. 134. Visited Widow Glover, 6. 135. Goes to Reading and Brookline, 6. 135. To Cambridge Court, 6. 135. Visited Fessenden, Hasting, Madam Shrimpton, and Mr. Bailey, 6. 135. To Watertown lecture, 6. 135. Dined at Mr. Gibb's, 6. 135. Gave Cousin Moodey Calvin's Exposition and a pair of slippers, 6. 135. Waits on Governor at Roxbury, 6. 135. To Brookline, Cambridge, and Lexington, 6. 135. Speaks with Fisk about Land of Nod, 6. 136. Gave Melyen, Mather's Sermon, and his 'Baptistes,' 6. 136. Also to Henchman, Cooper's Dictionary and Calvin on Psalms, with some Latin verses. 6. 136. At Samuel Green's funeral, 6. 136. Rev. Samuel Myles and brother are brought before him by a constable, 6. 136. At funeral of Mrs. Lake, 6. 137. Makes a verse, 6. 137. Speaks to Mr. Allen about having Lord's Supper once in four weeks, 6. 137. And to Mr. Pemberton about having it weekly, 6. 138. Meets with Cotton Mather's letter, 6. 138. To Newton lecture, 6. 138. To Cambridge Court, where his cause was being tried about Land of Nod, 6. 138. Gains his case, but Charlestown appeals, 6. 139. Sets out for Bristol, 6. 139. Stopped at Wrentham and Rehoboth, 6. 139. Held Court, 6. 139. Goes to Braintree, 6. 139. Drove a pin in the minister's house, 6. 139. Made a distich, 6. 140. And finishes it, 6. 141. To Salem Court, 6. 142. Visited Higginson, Bradstreet, Hirst, and Usher, 6. 142. Made a distich on Quebec Cross, 6. 143. Got some alterations made on the Fornication Bill, 6. 143. To Brookline and met Governor, 6. 143. Met the Governor, who spoke about the carter dispute, 6. 144. Viewed the ground where it occurred, 6. 145. Talked about it with P. Dudley, 6. 147. At a session of Superior Court about this matter, 6. 147. Granted a Habeas Corpus, 6. 147. Is at the examination as judge of the parties, 6. 148. Verses on the Quebec Cross, 6. 150. Visits Mrs. Maccarty, T. Downs, and Widow Clark, 6. 150. Visited Mr. Secretary, 6. 150. And went to Treasurer's and got paid for Council attendance, 6. 150. At Council, and spoke about Thanksgiving, 6. 150. Sets the tune at South Church, but failed, 6. 151. Visits Mr. Baily, 6. 151. Met Mr. Leverett, 6. 151. Called at Governor's, to correct a false report, 6. 152. At Council, where is discussion about the carters' affair, 6. 152. At Mrs. Pembroke's funeral, 6. 153. At Lady Phips's funeral, 6. 154. Visits Mr. Sergeant, 6. 154. Holds Court at Charlestown, 6. 154. At John Marion's funeral, 6. 154. Deming endeavors to get the agreement between himself and Joana Tiler, but the judge refuses to give it up, 6 155. Visits his son at Brookline, and Mr. Bayley, 6. 155. Sets out for Weymouth, 6. 156. Consults Mr. Torrey about mode of swearing, 6. 157. Gets to Plymouth, 6. 157. Regrets not praying with his servant, 6. 157. A mortifying accident happens to him in the night, which he regards as a judgment upon him for his neglect, 6. 157. Visits Mr. Thacher, 6. 157. Remarkable dream, 6. 157. Visits Mr. Bayley, 6. 157. Meets the Governor, 6. 158. To Milton, and was present when Mr. Leverett discoursed the Punkapog in-

truders, 6. 158. Dined with Mr. Thacher, 6. 158. Reads out of Caryl's Works, 6. 159. Carries to Capt. Belchar letter to Mr. Bellamy, 6. 160. To Brookline, 6. 161. Visited Bayley, 6. 161. To Ipswich and Salem, 6. 161. At funeral of Mrs Lindal, 6. 161. At Ipswich Court, 6. 161. Tries a woman for murder, 6. 161. To Newbury, 6. 161. At training dinner, 6. 162. At election, 6. 162. At Council, and row with the Governor, 6. 163. At Cambridge Court, 6. 164. Land of Nod case decided in his favor, and gets costs, 6. 164. At General Court, 6. 164. At Council, 6. 165. To Brookline and Cambridge, 6. 165. Gives £7 to help build the meeting-house, 6. 165. Hears Willard expound in hall, 6. 165. Visits Bayley, 6. 166. Sets out for Martha's Vineyard, 6. 166. To Sandwich and Pompespresset, 6. 166. Is overturned on the way, 6. 166. To Succanesset, 6. 166. At Wood's Hole, 6. 166. Holds Court at Bristol, 6. 167. Sets out for Narraganset, 6. 167. Reads sonnet out of Ben Jonson, 6. 168. Settles bounds at Narraganset, 6. 168. To Point Judith, 6. 168. At Providence, Dedham, and Roxbury, 6. 169. Waits on Governor, and visits Bayley, 6. 169. At lecture by Cotton Mather, 6. 170. His verses on Tom Child, 6. 170. Visits Bayley, 6. 170. At Roxbury lecture, 6. 171. Visits Bayley, 6. 172. To Salem, 6. 172. At Mrs. Walker's funeral, 6. 172. And Mrs. Oliver's, 6. 172. To Mr. Sergeant's and heard Pemberton preach, 6. 173. Dines with Governor and others at Holmes's, 6. 173. Visits Mr. Bayley, 6. 173. Dines at Governor's, 6. 174. Visits Sergeant and his bride, 6. 175. Executes lease to S. Dwight, 6. 175. Visits Son Samuel at Brookline, 6. 175. At Council, and visits Bayley, 6. 176. At funeral of Mr. Bayley, 6. 179. Condoles with the relations, 6. 179. Dreams that he is chosen Lord Mayor of London, 6. 179. Dines at Son Hirst's, 6. 179. At Council, 6. 181. His verses about Queen Anne, 6. 181. Visits Mr. Pemberton at the Church's house, 6. 182. Dines with Governor in new hall, 6. 182. To Plymouth Court, 6. 182. To Hingham, 6. 183. Visits Mr. Torrey, 6. 183. Visits Son Joseph, 6. 183. Hears Willard expound, 6. 183. To Cambridge and views Joseph's chamber, 6. 183. Goes to visit Mr. Torrey, but finds he is dead, 6. 185. To Weymouth, to funeral of Mr. Torrey, 6. 185. At funeral of Mrs. Scottow, 6. 186. To Natick, and hears Gookin preach to the Indians, 6. 186. Visits Madam Cooke, Cotton Mather, etc., 6. 186. To Salem, Ipswich, and Rowley, 6. 187. At election of Deputies, 6. 188. House is robbed, 6. 189. Is comforted by seeing a rainbow, 6. 189. At Commencement, 6. 190. Visits Mrs. Corlet, Mrs. Wigglesworth, Madam Oliver, 6. 191. Visits Mr. Willard, 6. 193. To Wrentham, Rehoboth, and Bristol, 6. 194. Sentenced a woman that whipped a man, to be whipped herself, 6. 194. At Mr. Willard's funeral, 6. 195. To Brookline, and chooses apple-trees, 6. 195. At a great fast at South Church, 6. 195. At Council, 6. 197. Is objected to as a judge in the cause of Gov. Bellingham's will, 6. 197. At Salem Court, 6. 198. Visits Mr. Higginson, 6. 199. And Maj.-Gen. Winthrop and bride, 6. 199. At conference of deputies, 6. 199. Goes to Mr. Borland and inquires whether Gov. Dudley knew of their trade with the French, 6. 201. Gathers that he did, 6. 201. At funeral of Capt. Dudley's daughter, 6. 201. At Council, 6. 201. Speech in Council concerning Gov. Dudley, 6. 202. And delivers his 'Reasons,' 6. 202. At dinner with Governor and Council, 6. 203. Drinks to the Governor, 6. 203. Row with the Governor and Col. Townsend in Council, 6. 204. His prayer afterwards, 6. 204. At funeral of Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop, 6. 204. Dines at Holmes's with Governor and Council, 6. 205. At Council, 6. 205. At funeral of Mrs. Eliot, 6. 206. His address to the bearers, 6. 206. To Roxbury, and visits son, 6. 207. And Gov. Dudley's family, 6 207. At Council, 6. 207. To meeting at Mr. Bromfield's, 6. 208. Visits the Governor, 6. 208. To Cambridge, for the installation of Mr. Leverett, 6. 208. At funeral of Mrs. Needham, 6. 211. With Mr. Mather to Madam Usher's, 6. 212. Speaks of death, 6. 212. Lodges Indian preacher in his study, 6. 212. To funeral of Samuel Engs, 6. 213. To funeral of Capt. Stephens, 6. 214. Goes to visit the President (Leverett), 6. 214. And Col. Foxcroft, 6. 214. Many look on him with an evil eye, 6. 215. Interview with Mr. Borland, who is much displeased with his conduct, 6. 215. The Judge's reasons for not going to Town House to celebrate Queen's birthday, 6. 215. Walks with Seventh Company to inspect disorders, 6 216. Keeps private day of prayer and fasting, 6. 216. His prayer, 6 216. Ballad on, 6. 217. To Governor about Judge of Superior Court, 6. 218. Finishes his accounts for Propagation of Gospel Society, 6. 219. Reads a ser-

Sewall, Samuel, *continued.*
mon at meeting at Mr. Cole's, 6. 219. Meets Mr. Sergeant, and has squabble with him, 6. 220. To Hingham, 6. 221. Affecting dream, 6. 221. Meets N. Henchman, and wishes him joy of his wedding, 6. 222. Curious behavior of Henchman to the Judge, 6. 222. To Milton, and runs lines of land bought of Mr. Stoughton, 6. 222 Visits Daughter Hirst, 6. 223. Prays with her, 6. 223. To Scituate and Plymouth, 6. 223. Election, 6. 224. At Council, 6. 225. Shows the vastness of the Governor's authority, 6. 227. To Cambridge, 6. 227. Is surprised by Son Joseph's illness, 6. 227. Brought son home, 6. 227. At Council pleads poverty of the country, 6 228. At Cambridge Court, 6. 228. To Brookline, and then to funeral of Mrs. Wigglesworth, 6. 229. To Mr. Fisk's funeral, 6. 229. And Mrs. Stoddard's, 6. 229. Blots out of almanac certain entries, 6. 230. Visits Mr. Chiever, who blesses him, 6. 230. At his funeral, 6. 231. Opposes grant for setting up the 'devil worship' of the Quakers, 6 232. Discourse with Henry Flint in opposition to the use of the term 'Saint,' 6. 232. At Mrs. Taylor's funeral, 6 233. Is indignant at the Episcopal Church burial service being used, 6 233. Visits Mr. Hobart, 6. 234. To funeral of Mr. Simson's only daughter, 6. 235. And to that of Mrs. Whitcomb's granddaughter, 6. 235. Trains under Capt. Fitch, and dines with Major Turner, 6. 235. Alarmed by a fire, 6. 235. Warns La Bloom not to proceed with making a window in partition wall, 6. 236. To Wrentham and Medfield, 6. 236. At Rehoboth, and visits Capt. Peck, 6. 236. Visits Col. Byfield, 6. 237. At Bristol and Dedham, 6 237. To funeral of John Wainwright, 6. 237. At Council, 6. 238 To Dorchester lecture, 6. 238. To Newton lecture, 6. 239. Dined at Mr. Hubbard's, 6. 239. Visits Capt. Green, 6. 239. At funeral of Elder Clap, 6. 239. And that of Capt. Checkley, 6. 240. At Council, 6. 240. At funeral of S. Phillip's daughter, 6. 240. At the conference, 6. 241. Explains the law as to Odel, 6. 242. Calls upon Sir Charles Hobbey, 6. 243. Is disgusted with Mr. N. Gookin for preaching about 'Saint' James, 6. 243. Holds Court at Salem, 6. 244. Dines at Brother Hirst's, 6. 245. At funeral of B. Brown, 6. 245. At Rev. John Higginson's funeral, 6. 246. At Court, 6. 246. At Grandson Samuel Sewall's funeral, 6. 247. Cotton Mather and Sir Charles Hobbey visit him, 6. 248. At funeral of Mr. Bridgham, 6. 248. Prays for Daughter Mary, 6. 249. To Hubbard's lecture, 6. 249. At funeral of Mrs. Glover, 6. 250. Welcomes S. Gerrish as a suitor for Daughter Mary, 6. 250. Visits Cotton Mather, 6. 251. Has a tooth drawn, 6. 251. Sets out for Plymouth, 6. 251. At General Council, 6. 252. At funeral of Capt. Lawson, 6 252. To meeting at Madam Winthrop's, 6. 253. To Braintree, 6. 253. Dines at the Castle, 6. 253 Visits Cotton Mather and Mr. Russell, 6. 253. At election of Representatives, and is chosen Moderator, 6. 253. Dines at North's, and thence to funeral of Mr. Russell. 6. 254. At Council, 6 254. At Council, and is spoken angrily to by the Governor, 6. 255. At funeral of Mrs. Russell, 6. 255. At Major Brown's funeral, 6. 255. Sets off for Ipswich, 6. 255. At Newbury, 6. 255. To meeting at Byfield, 6. 256. At election, and sermon, 6. 256. At funerals of Mrs. Pemberton, Mr. John Pierpont, and Mrs. Wyllys, 6. 257. Meets Dr. Increase Mather, 6. 257. Treats the Governor and others at Holmes's, 6. 257. Meeting at his house about imprinting the bills, 6. 257. Greatly alarmed by fire in his house, 6. 258. At Council, 6. 259. Bathes in Charles River, 6. 260. To Cambridge Court, 6. 260 At funeral of Madam Shepard, 6. 261. Meets Mr. Bernon, 6. 262. At marriage of Daughter Mary. 6. 263 Governor and Council entertained by him, 6. 263. To Taunton, 6. 263. To Bristol Court, 6. 264. Tries Indians, 6 264. At Dedham, 6. 265. At Council, 6. 265. Shows letters about printing Indian Bible to the Mathers, 6. 266. Reads to Mrs. Rock, 6. 266. At Council, and is praised by the Governor, 6. 266. Dines with Governor and Council, 6. 266. Keeps night watch, 6. 267. At funeral of Cotton Mather's child, 6. 270. To Brookline, 6 270. The sense in which he uses the word 'inconvenient,' 6. 270. Reads Caryl's Works, 6. 271. To church, being New Year's Day, 6. 271. At funeral of Mr. Hubbard, 6. 272. Waits on Governor and lady, 6. 272. At Council, 6. 274. Chosen Moderator of general town-meeting, 6. 275. Sets out for Plymouth, 6. 276. To meeting at Hingham, 6. 276. In solemn secret prayer, 6. 277. Holds Court, 6 277. To Weymouth, 6. 277. At Council, 6. 278. To Charlestown lecture, 6. 279. At funeral of Mrs. E. Savage, 6. 279. To Newton, 6. 279. Interview with Dr. Mather, 6. 279. At Council, 6. 280. Discussion with Mr. Pemberton, 6. 281. Cotton Mather

dines, 6. 281. Sets out for Ipswich, 6. 281. To Salem, 6. 282. At election, 6. 282. At Commencement, 6. 282. Drives a pin at Rumney-Marsh, 6. 283. At Madam Stoddard's funeral, 6. 283. At Council, 6. 284. Moves that the marines be landed at Hull, 6. 284. At funeral of William Clark, 6. 284. At funeral of granddaughter, 6. 285. And of Nurse Johnson, 6. 285. Visited Mr. Brattle, 6. 286. Prays with Son Joseph, 6. 287. At South Church when Joseph preaches, 6. 287 To Brookline, 6. 287. Set out for Bristow, 6. 287. At Court, 6. 288. Tries woman for murder, 6. 288. Is sent to visit Governor, who is sick, 6. 288. To present the Council's service, 6. 288. Visits Daughter Gerrish, 6. 289. Is present at her death, 6. 290. And funeral, 6. 290. Fined parties for libel, 6. 291. President and Mr. Pemberton dine, 6. 291. Discussion about the Mathers, 6. 291. He is insulted by Mr. Pemberton, 6. 291. Prays earnestly, 6. 293. At funeral of Isaac Goose, 6. 294. Is hurt by Mr. Pemberton's choice of a psalm, 6. 294. Goes to him and expostulates. 6 295. Goes to First Church and partakes there, 6. 293. Visits Madam Dudley, 6. 296. Gives the oaths to twenty-four military officers, 6 297. To funeral of Mrs. Bonner, 6. 297. Mr. Pemberton visits, 6. 298. To Charlestown Court, 6. 298 To hear Mr. Bridge and Cotton Mather, 6. 298. Waits on Gov. Vetch, 6 298. At Council, 6. 298. Reads Shepard's sermon against hypocrisy, 6. 300. Sends seventy old sermons to Rowley and Newbury, 6. 300. Dream, 6. 300. At John Foster's funeral, 6. 300. And Mrs. Gallop's, 6 301. In prayer and meditation on 35th anniversary of his wedding-day, 6 302. At funeral of Mrs. Allen, 6. 302. At sermon by Son Joseph, 6. 302. At funeral of Mrs. Foster, 6. 303. At Council for nominating officers, 6. 304. To Plymouth Court, 6. 304. At Council, 6. 305. Dines with the Court at Pullin's, 6. 305. Speaks about negroes, and their state after death, 6. 305. Dr. Mather visits him, 6. 306. At Council, 6. 306. At funeral of Granddaughter Gerrish, 6. 307. Sells part of pasture to enlarge North Burying-place, 6. 308. To Charlestown lecture, 6. 309. At Pemberton's meeting, 6. 310. Sets out for Ipswich, 6. 310. At Wenham, 6. 310. And Salem, 6. 311. Falls off his horse, 6. 311. Left his distich with nephew, 6. 311. Gives deputies the oaths, 6. 312. At Council, 6. 314. Waits on Governor to take leave, 6. 315. Reads to Mrs. Rock, 6. 315. Goes to meet Brigadier Hill, 6. 316. Hears sad news from Annapolis, 6. 316. Salutes and welcomes Gen. Hill, 6. 316. Waits on Gen Hill, 6. 317. At funeral of Mrs. Banister, 6 318. At Commencement, 6. 318. At funeral of Capt. N. Holms, 6. 319. To Brookline, 6. 319. At funeral of Elizur Holyoke, 6. 320. Sets out for Bristol, 6. 322. At Court there, 6. 322. To Newport, 6. 322. And Rehoboth, 6. 322. At Dedham, 6. 323. Has a house burnt in great fire, 6. 324. At General Court, and speaks against the new expedition to Canada, 6. 324. At funeral of Mrs. Ardel, 6. 324. Treats Col. Nicholson and Lieutenant-Governor at Green Dragon, 6. 325. At funeral of John Pole (or Poole), 6. 325. At Salem Court, 6. 326. At funeral of Madam Walley, 6. 327. At Council, 6. 327. His speech there about A. Tulloh, 6. 327. At funeral of Mrs. Corwin, 6. 328. Reads Livingston's Canada Journal, 6. 328. Visits Major Walley and Mr. Pemberton, 6. 329. Visits and prays with Mrs. Bosworth, 6. 329. At meeting about compensation to those who had houses blown up at the fire, 6. 330. To Brookline, 6. 330. Prays with Son Joseph in the Castle, 6. 331. At funeral of Mrs. M. Atkinson, 6 331. To Cambridge, 6. 331. Visits Major Walley, 6. 332. Writes to the Mathers, 6. 332. At funeral of Major John Walley, 6. 332. And of William Pain, 6. 332. At Charlestown Court, 6. 333. Tries and condemns a negro to death, 6. 333. Reads the death of Justice Brett, 6. 334. Hears Mr. Bradstreet at Charlestown preach to condemned malefactor previous to execution, 6. 334. At Mr. Bromfield's, about the duellists Douglas and Alexander, 6. 335. To Charlestown, 6. 336. Settles about Daughter Mary's portion with Mr. Gerrish, 6. 336. Sees Pemberton about the 'Mock Sermon,' 6. 336. To Dr. Clark's about the same, 6. 337. At Council, 6. 338. Dines with Lieutenant-Governor, Governor, etc., 6. 339. Gives away his distich about heaven, 6. 339. At church meeting, 6. 339. Sets out for Plymouth, 6. 340. Holds Court, 6. 340. At Braintree and lodges in Tutor Flint's chamber, 6. 341. Observant of Mr. Pemberton not being desirous of Son Joseph's becoming colleague at South Church, 6. 342. At Council, 6. 343. To Charlestown lecture, 6. 343. Visits Capt. Phillips, Adam Winthrop, and Capt. Fayerwether, 6. 343. Lays a rock out of the Common as cornerstone, 6. 344. To Hog Island, 6 344. At funeral of Capt. John Fayerwether,

Sewall, Samuel, *continued*.
6. 344. Visits son at Cambridge, 6. 344. At church meeting about son's election, 6. 345. Sends a psalter to Dr. Increase Mather, 6. 345. To Brookline, 6. 346. Lays a corner-stone at Town House engraved 'S. S.,' 6. 346. Holds Court, 6. 346. To Roxbury and Concord, 6. 347. Sensitiveness about lack of sympathy among his clerical friends as to Son Joseph, 6. 348. At Council, 6. 350, 351. On committee about volunteers, 6. 350, 351. Rides to Brookline, 6. 350, 351. Letter to Rev. E. Tayler, 6. 352. Rides round the Common, 6. 353. Rides out Dorchester road, 6. 353. To an ordination at Reading, 6. 354. To Commencement, 6. 354. To Hog Island, 6. 355. Drives a pin, 6. 355. To Natick, 6. 356. To Cambridge in Castle barge, 6. 357. At corporation meeting, 6. 357. At Council, 6. 357. Holds Court at Charlestown, 6. 358. His speech there about Mr. Lynde, 6. 358. To Brookline, 6. 359. Visits Mr. Wadsworth, 6. 359. To Roxbury and Brookline, 6. 360. Visits Governor, 6. 360. At funeral of Madam Whetcomb, 6. 360. And of Capt. Oliver's child, 6. 361. Is told of Rev. N. Hobart's death, 6. 361. At funeral of granddaughter, 6. 362. And of Mr. Hobart, 6. 362. To Hog Island, 6. 362. Visits Dr. Increase Mather, 6. 362. To meeting at Mr. Phillips's, 6. 362. Has meeting of commissioners of Gospel Propagation Society at his house, 6. 362. Falls sick of a fever, 6. 363. Mr. Pemberton visits, 6. 364. Recovers, and puts up a note, 6. 364. With Dr. Mather and others to fast at Newtown, 6. 364. To private meeting at Mr. Pemberton's, 6. 364. At Council, 6. 365. To Court at Pullin's, 6. 366. His speech about bills of credit, 6. 366. Dr. Cotton Mather dines, 6. 366. Gives an entertainment to Governor and others, 6. 367. To Salem Court, 6. 367. Visits Gov. Saltonstall and bride, 6 367. Desire of seeing foreign countries much abated, 6. 368. At funeral of Mrs. More, 6. 368. Pemberton speaks to him about Joseph, 6. 368. To funeral of Capt. Hayman, 6. 369. At funeral of Madam Hutchinson, 6. 370. Visits Son Samuel at Brookline and discusses with Mrs. Samuel the cause of their domestic disturbance, 6. 370. The Judge's delicate conduct in this matter, 6. 370. At Council, 6. 372. And converses with Madam Dudley, 6. 372. Is sent for to Mrs. Fifield, who is dying, 6. 373. At funeral of Madam Addington, 6. 373. And Mrs. Fifield, 6. 373. Sets out on Plymouth journey, 6. 375. At Pembrooke and Mattakeese, 6. 375. Holds Court, 6. 375. Visits Mrs. Betty Walley, and thanks her for her favor to Son Joseph, 6. 375. Visits Madam Cooke, 6. 375. And Mr. Pemberton, 6. 377. Sets out for New London, 6. 377. At Madam Stoddard's funeral, 6. 377. And that of Mrs. Patteshall, 6. 377. Pemberton calls, 6. 378. Conversation with Madam Pemberton about Son Joseph's courtship, 6. 378. Calls at Mr. Walley's, and gives books to the daughters, 6. 378. At first Court in new Town House, 6. 379. Visits Dr. Increase Mather, 6. 379. Waits on Mr. Pemberton, and has discussion with him about assigning of seats in South Church, 6. 379. Sewall's fear of popery or prelacy, 6. 379. At Council, 6. 380. Visits Mr. Stoddard, 6. 380. And at meeting at John Franklin's, 6. 380. At Mr. Pemberton's about adding to number of seaters, 6. 381. Opening of new court-chamber, 6. 381, 382. His speech to grand jury, 6. 382. At church meeting, 6. 383. Sets out for Ipswich, 6. 383. At Salem, 6. 383. Holds Court at Ipswich, 6. 383. At Beverly, 6. 383. Administers oaths to deputies, 6. 385. Dines at Green Dragon, 6. 385. At Council, 6. 386. Urges reform as to prayer there, 6. 386. Finds a trap-ball stopping the water in a spout, and his pious reflections thereupon, 6. 388. Acts as chairman on committee for Tuthill's account, 6. 388. At a treat by commissary, 6. 389. Watches the town with Mr. Sergeant, 6. 389. Conversations with Pemberton, 6. 389. Goes to Mrs. Betty Walley about her marriage with Joseph, 6. 390. To the funeral of Col. Hunt, 6. 390. To Commencement, 6. 390. At Cambridge Superior Court, 6. 391. Calls at Governor's, 6. 392. Dr. Increase Mather speaks pleasantly to him, 6. 392. And thanks him for book, 6. 392. Sewall's book 'Proposals about Prophecy,' 6. 392. His verses on the subject, 6. 392. Gives away copies to Mather, Pemberton, and various others, 6. 392. At meeting at Pemberton's about son's ordination, 6. 394. At funeral of Sheriff Giles Dyer, 6. 395. Visited by the President, to whom he gives several 'Proposals,' 6. 396. Sets out for Bristol, 6. 396. At Attleboro', Rehoboth, and Swansea, 6. 396. At Wrentham, and hears Mr. Man, 6. 397. At Son Joseph's ordination, 6. 397. A great occasion, 6. 397. Waits on Governor at Roxbury, and visits Samuel, 6. 399. At condemned sermon to, and execution of, Wallis, 6. 399. To Brookline,

6. 400. Dines alone with Samuel, and afterwards talks to Mrs. Samuel, 6. 400. Dines with the Court, 6. 401. At ordination of Mr. Stephens, 6. 401. At Council, 6. 402. Goes to see the 'Portentous Birth,' being two girls in one, 6. 403. To Salem at marriage of niece, 6. 403. Gives bride a psalm-book, with some pious remarks, 6. 404. At Council, 6. 404. Is alarmed by illness of Susan, 6. 404. Visits Dr. Increase Mather, 6. 404. At marriage of Son Joseph, 6. 405. Converses with Samuel about his wife, 6. 406. At Salem Court, 6. 406. At funeral of Cotton Mather's wife, 6. 407. Goes to Gen. Nicholson about bonfire, 6. 407. Visits Mr. Addington and bride, 6. 408. At funeral of Elder Cop, 6. 408. Visits Mr. Pemberton, 6. 409. At Council, 6. 412. Votes for general fast, 6. 412. To Cambridge and visits Mr. Brattle, 6. 413. At funerals of Mrs. Bodin and Hannah Clark, 6. 413. At Council, 6. 413. At funeral of Mrs. Butler, 6. 414. Dines at Holmes's with Court, 6. 414. Visits Mr. Stoddard and bride, 6. 414. At funeral of Mrs. Mary Phillips, 6. 415. At Council, 6. 415. Pays Sir C. Hobbey £50, 6. 416. At meeting of the Hopkins trustees, 6. 416. Has an interview with Mr. Sergeant, 6. 417. Reads Burroughs's works, 6. 417. Watches with Mr. Sergeant, who is sick, 6. 418. At Charlestown Court, 6. 418. Sends Joseph 'Synopsis Criticorum,' 6. 418. To Town House on Queen's birthday, 6. 419. Is called to disturbance at Wallis's tavern, 6. 419. The Netmaker squabble, 6. 420. Sends Netmaker to prison, 6. 422. At funeral of Mrs. Green, 6. 422. At Council, 6. 422. Gen. Nicholson demands justice against Sewall for sending his secretary (Netmaker) to prison, 6. 423. Sewall's remarks on the subject, 6. 423. Copy of mittimus signed by Sewall, 6. 423. At funeral of Peter Sergeant, 6. 424. About his thousand acres of land near Wadchuset, 6. 425. Sets out for Plymouth, 6. 425. At Braintree and Weymouth, 6. 425. Sets out for Sandwich and Martha's Vineyard, 6. 425. The manuscripts of Sewall, and his Magunkaquog volume, 6. 425. Extracts from this book, 6. 426. Various expenses itemized, 6. 426. Instructions to him as agent for the Gospel propagation among the Indians on his journey to Martha's Vineyard, 6. 427. He sets out, 6. 429. At Plymouth, and views the prospect from burying hill, 6. 429. References to his letter-book to be subsequently published, 6. 429. Curious discussion with Paul Dudley, 6. 430. To Sandwich, 6. 430. Abstract of sermon he hears by Rev. Rowland Cotton, 6. 431. At Falmouth, etc., 6. 432. Is welcomed to the island by Mr. Thacher and others, 6. 433. In Martha's Vineyard, 6. 434. Order to Mayhew and Allen to construct certain works at Chilmark and Gay Head, 6. 435. Views Watsha Neck, 6. 436. To Holmes' Hole and Wood's Hole, 6. 437, 438. To Sandwich and Plymouth, 6. 438. Sails in sloop 'Success' for Boston, 6. 439. Where he arrives safely, 6. 440. Laus Deo, 6. 440. Extracts from his small volume labelled 'Magunkaquog.'—To Kittery, Wenham, Newbury, and Hampton, 7. 1. Dined at the 'Anchor in the Plain,' 7. 1. To Portsmouth, N. H., 7. 1. Holds Court at Spruce Crick, 7. 2. Hears several sermons, 7. 2. Holds Court at Ipswich, 7. 2. At a noble treat given by Dr. John Clark, 7. 5. At Council, 7. 5. At Council, 7. 6. Squabble with the Governor, 7. 6. Presents Speaker Colman's sermons, 7. 7. Meets Mr. Pemberton and has long conversation, 7. 7. Another controversy with Pemberton, 7. 8. At Commencement, 7. 9. Lays a brick in Mr. Colman's house, 7. 9. Puts up a note for the Indian student, Benjamin Larnell, 7. 10. At Benjamin Larnell's funeral, 7. 11. The 'note' that he put up, 7. 11. To Cambridge, 7. 11. Takes Hannah to Meadford, 7. 11. Treats Governor and Commissioners, 7. 12. At funeral of Nurse Hill, 7. 14. At funeral of Mrs. Angier, 7. 15. Presents psalm-books to Mr. Pemberton and others, 7. 15. Visits son at Brookline, 7. 16. Also Madam Dudley and William Dummer, 7. 16. At funeral of Deacon Atwood, 7. 17. Disturbed cordiality of feeling with Mr. Pemberton, 7. 17. Reads the act against schism, 7. 18. Visits Rev. P. Thatcher at Milton, 7. 18. Prays with William Bairstow, 7. 18. At funeral of Mrs. Elizabeth Savage, 7. 18. To meeting of owners of the salt-works, 7. 18. Sets out for Bristol, 7. 18. To Reboboth, 7. 19. At Bristol Court, 7. 19. At Punkapog and Milton, 7. 19. At Council, 7. 20. Dined at Green Dragon, 7. 20. To Charlestown lecture, 7. 20. Dined with Col. Phillips, and visited Mr. Stevens and Mr. Bradstreet, 7. 20. Dined at the Castle with Lieutenant-Governor, 7. 22. Left a distich for the chaplain, 7. 22. At overseers' meeting, 7. 22. To the salt-works, and run the bounds, 7. 22. At Council, 7. 23. At Conference about Piscataqua duties, 7. 24. Sets out for Salem, 7.

Sewall, Samuel, *continued.*
24. Holds Court at Salem, 7. 25. Dines with Col. Samuel Brown, and had a very noble treat, 7. 25. Goes on board the 'Hampshire,' 7. 25. At marriage of his niece Margaret, 7. 26. At meetings of Dunstable Proprietors and of the Commissioners, 7. 26. His preference as to sermons, 7. 26. Twenty-fifth anniversary of his return from England, 7. 27. Sends an angel to both Dr. Mathers and Mr. Pemberton, 7. 28. At Council, 7. 28. Holds Court, 7. 29. Visits Capt. Williams, 7. 30. At funeral of Mrs. Judith Winslow, 7. 30. Visits son at Brookline, 7. 31. At Mr. Webb's church, 7. 32. Prejudice against observing Christmas Day, 7. 32. Dines with Governor, 7. 32. Visits Mr. Wadsworth and Secretary Addington, 7. 33. A talk about the circumstances of the government resulting from Queen Anne's death, 7. 33. Dines at Mr. Gee's, 7. 34. Gives an angel to Mr. Bradstreet, 7. 34. At General Council, 7. 34. Moves to adjourn it, 7. 34. Is opposed at the Council by Governor, 7. 35. Signs bills, 7. 35. At meeting at the Major-General's, 7. 35. Waits on the Governor with message drawn up by Sewall, 7. 36. His remarks to the Governor, 7. 37. Returns to the meeting with the result, 7. 37. Writes letters to various places calling a council, 7. 37. To a meeting at Brother Thornton's, 7. 38. At meeting of councillors, 7. 38. Draws up a proclamation, 7. 38. At Council, 7. 39. Visits Governor, 7. 39. Signs commissions, 7. 40. At meeting of magistrates and ministers, 7. 40. At Council, 7. 40. Consults Mr. Walter about Son Samuel's affairs, 7. 40. At Council, 7. 41. Draws up proclamation, 7. 41. Converses with Lieutenant-Governor and Mr. Pemberton about the proclamation, 7. 42. Visited by Paul Dudley and William Dummer, and converse about proclamation, 7. 43. At meeting of councillors, 7. 43. At funeral of Secretary Addington, 7. 43. Waits on the Governor, 7. 44. Sets out for Plymouth, 7. 44. Holds Court, 7. 44. Dines with Governor, etc., at Green Dragon, 7. 45. To Roxbury lecture, and visits Governor, 7. 46. Receives from him a dedimus, 7. 46. Gives oaths to deputies, 7. 47. To Roxbury, and takes the oaths before the Governor, 7. 47. At Court of Deputies, 7. 47. Finishes work on bills of credit for £50,000, 7. 48. Puts up a note for Hannah, 7. 48. At funeral of James Salter, 7. 48. Remembers that it is fifty-four years since he first landed at Boston, 7. 48. Sends verses to Cousin Moodey at Harvard, 7. 49. And also verses made to direct him in signing bills of credit, 7. 49. Visits Dr. Cotton Mather and his new wife, 7. 49. Receives letter from Sir William Ashurst, 7. 49. At funerals of Mrs. Elisha Cooke and Mrs. Anne Kay, 7. 50. To Cambridge and holds Court, 7. 50. At funeral of Mrs. Brattle, 7. 50. Visited by Dr. Increase Mather, 7. 51. Sets out to inspect the order of the town, 7. 51. Arrests a notorious burglar, and commits him to prison, 7. 52. Walks with Constable Thair, 7. 53. To Mr. Walter's lecture, 7. 54. Sets out for Salem and Newbury, 7. 55. Holds Court at Kittery, 7. 55. Sets out for Bristol, 7. 56. At Dedham and Wrentham, 7. 56. Holds Court at Bristol, 7. 56. Gets home by Punkapog and Neponset, 7. 57. At Council, 7. 57. At Council, 7. 58. His speech at the Council, 7. 58. To Cambridge, 7. 60. Dines with President, 7. 60. Pays part for land at Hopkinton, 7 60. At funeral of Rev. Thomas Bridge, 7. 60. Dines at Mr. Hirst's, 7. 61. And with the Court at Holmes's, 7. 61. To Natick, 7. 62. At the General Court, 7. 62. To Rumney Marsh, 7. 63. To Salem and Mistick, 7. 64. His opinion as to the law of Nature and the law of God, 7. 65. To Winnisimit, 7. 66. Holds Court, 7. 66. At Council, 7. 66. Takes oaths, 7. 66. At meeting of salt-works owners, 7. 66. Visits Governor, 7. 66. Gives an angel to Mr. Stobo and both Dr. Mathers, 7. 66. At the Town House, 7. 67. At election of deputies, 7. 68. And of Councillors, 7. 69. Votes in election of provincial agent in England, 7. 69. Dines with the Court, 7. 70. Visits Mr. Pemberton, 7. 70. Receives his commission as judge of Superior Court, and takes the oaths, 7. 70. To Charlestown lecture, 7. 71. Dines with Mr. Bradstreet, 7. 71. At funeral of Daniel Ellen, 7. 72. At Mr. Colman's lecture, 7. 72. Writes to President Leverett, 7. 72. At funeral of Mrs. Mary Butler, 7. 73. Visits Lady of Lieutenant-Governor, 7. 73. Walks the rounds, 7. 74. Visits Daughter Hirst, 7. 74. Anniversary of wedding-day forty years ago, 7. 74. At Salem to funeral of Hon. William Brown, 7. 74. Sets out for Scituate, 7. 75. Holds Court at Plymouth, 7. 76. His address to Hugh Adams and to Joseph Otis, 7. 76. At Weymouth, 7. 76. To funeral of Mr. Belknap, 7. 77. At meeting of Harvard trustees, 7. 78. Warns Samuel against going to taverns, 7. 78. Con-

versation with Lieutenant-Governor about Agent Dummer, 7. 78. And goes to Mr. Pemberton and White on the same subject, 7. 79. Puts up a note for wife and Hannah, 7. 79. Acknowledges deeds for land on Hull Street, 7. 80. Connection with Cotton Mather, 7. 80. And difficulty with him as to a trust, 7. 81. At Kittery, Wenham, and Ipswich, 7. 81. Holds Court there, 7. 81. Visits relations at Ram Island, 7. 81. Examines two pedlers for breaking the Sabbath, 7. 81. His ingenious reasons in deciding upon the case, 7. 82. Fines them, 7. 83. Holds Superior Court at Ipswich, 7. 83. To Salem and Medford, 7. 83. At Council, 7. 84, 88. Controversy with Lieutenant-Governor as to Agent Dummer, and speeches of Sewall on the subject, 7. 84. Receives a letter full of vile reproaches, 7. 86. To Charlestown and drives a pin in the new meeting-house, 7. 86. Tries to prevent Indians and negroes being rated with horses and hogs, but fails, 7. 87. His dissent about bills of credit, 7. 87, 88. Resigns his position in connection with the same, 7. 88. Puts up a note about Daughter Hirst, 7. 90. Visits her on her death-bed, 7. 90. And consoles her, 7. 91. At funeral of daughter, Mrs. Grove Hirst, 7. 91. At Council, 7. 92. To funeral of Cousin (Nephew) Thomas Sewall, 7. 93. Prays in the Castle chamber, 7. 94. At Cambridge Court, 7. 94. To Cambridge again, 7. 95. At funeral of Treasurer Taylor, 7. 96. To the saltworks, 7. 98. Goes through the town to suppress disorders, 7. 98. Sets out for Springfield, 7. 100. At Worcester and Brookfield, 7. 100. Holds Court at Springfield, 7. 100. At Hatfield and Deerfield, 7. 100. To Northampton, Enfield, and Coventry, 7. 101. To Canterbury and Plainfield, 7. 101. At Rehoboth, 7. 102. At funeral of Mrs. Mary Goram, 7. 102. Takes a purge, and its effect, 7. 103. To Charlestown lecture, 7. 103. Visits Dr. Increase Mather, 7. 104. Goes and meets Gov. Shute on his arrival from England, 7. 105. Dines with Governor and the Court, 7. 106. Dines with Governor, 7. 107. To Harvard with Governor, 7. 108. Views the New South Church, 7. 108. To Roxbury, 7. 108. Interview with ex-Gov. Dudley and wife as to Son Samuel and wife, 7. 108. Celebrates the Coronation Day, 7. 109. Visits Mr. Pemberton, 7. 110. Waits on Gov. Shute to welcome him home, 7. 110. Dines with Governor and the Court at the 'Crown,' 7. 110. To Salem, 7. 110. At baptism of Sarah Stoddard, 7. 111. Prevails on Governor not to go to Enstone's ball, 7. 111. At Council, 7. 112. Governor comes to visit him, 7. 112. At funeral of Madam Endicott, 7. 113. Great dinner at his house to Governor and others, 7. 113. Dines with Governor and others, and discusses the subject of matrimony and circumcision with Mr. Auchmuty, 7. 113. To funeral of Katherine Mather, 7. 114. Dines with Governor at Mr. Bromfield's, 7. 114. To Cambridge on Christmas Day, 7. 115. At Council, 7. 115. Dines with Governor and Court, 7. 115. Dines with Governor at Major Fitch's, 7. 116. At a great assembly at New South Church, 7. 116. Has a fall, 7. 118. To Mr. Pemberton's, 7. 118. Holds Court at Charlestown, 7. 118. Waits on Governor, 7. 119. To Charlestown where he is very sick, 7. 119. Is sent for to Mr. Pemberton's, who dies, 7. 119. At funeral of Mrs. Hannah Clark, 7. 120. At funeral of Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, 7. 121. At Council, 7. 121. At funeral of Rev. William Brattle, 7. 122. Sees extraordinary quantities of snow, 7. 122. Visits Col. Hutchinson and Col. Townsend, 7. 123. Visited by the sheriff, 7. 123. Argues about civil and religious liberty, 7. 124. To Cambridge fast, 7. 125. Visits Col. Foxcroft, 7. 125. Prays earnestly, 7. 126. Discusses the question of public confession, 7. 126. To Capt. Dummer's, 7. 127. Has a dream, 7. 127. Sets out for Plymouth, 7. 128. Holds Court, 7. 128. Prays in the meeting-house, 7. 128. Sentences Jeremiah Phenix to death, 7. 130. At funeral of Col. Hathorne, 7. 130. To Salem, Newbury, Hampton, Kittery, 7. 130. Holds Court at Ipswich, 7. 131. To Meadford, and hears the dulcimer played, 7. 131. At Charlestown Court, 7. 131. At funeral of Samuel Haugh, 7. 132. Dines with Maj.-Gen. Winthrop, 7. 132. Waits on Governor and solicits judge of probate's office, 7. 132. Meeting at his house about Widow Norton and her son, 7. 133. At Council, 7. 133. Unable to go to Commencement owing to wife's sickness, 7. 134. Views the brick work of the fortification, 7. 134. His voyage to Arrowsick, 7. 135. Refers to his octavo paper book, 7. 135. To funeral of Mrs. Mary Hayman, 7. 135. To Charlestown lecture, 7. 136. Views the Tombs in Hull Street, 7. 136. Visits Dr. Increase Mather, 7. 136. Prays with Joshua Cornish, 7. 136. At his funeral, 7. 137. Has conversation with ex-Gov. Dudley about Son Samuel, 7 137. To Roxbury, and

Sewall, Samuel, *continued.*
views the wall of the city, and passes in and out of the gate, 7. 137. Goes to the solemn assembly to hear Mr. Oakes, 7. 138. Is sick and sends for Dr. Oakes, 7. 138. Goes and pays Thomas Clark £180 on account of an unknown person, 7. 138. To lecture and Council, 7. 139. To Charlestown, 7. 139. Visits Dr. Increase Mather, 7. 139. At South Church fast, 7. 140. To Hog Island, 7. 141. To funeral of Mrs. Anne Hubbard, 7. 141. Views the training on the Common, 7. 142. At Old North fast, 7. 142. At funeral of Mrs. Prudence Swan, 7. 142. Puts up note for wife, 7. 143. His behavior during any private trouble or sorrow, 7. 143. He sits up with his wife, 7. 143. At death and funeral of his wife, 7. 144. Visits Mr. Hirst in sickness, 7. 145. His opinion of Mr. Hirst, 7. 145. At his funeral, 7. 145. At funeral of Capt. Belchar, 7. 146. Character of Maj.-Gen. Winthrop, 7. 146. Sets out for Salem, 7. 146. At funeral of Maj.-Gen. Winthrop, also of Mrs. Hannah Melyne, and of Mr. and Mrs. Windsor, and Mr. and Mrs. Dering, 7. 147. At ordination of Rev. Thomas Foxcroft, 7. 148. Hears of death of Jacob Adams, an old school-fellow, also of Mr. Eaton, 7. 148. To Major Walley's, 7. 149. At funerals of Jacob Adams and Mrs. Clark, 7. 149. Does much business at probate office, 7. 150. At Col. Paige's funeral, 7. 150. Visits Madam Winthrop, and consults with her, 7. 151. Visits Secretary Willard, 7. 151. To Mrs. Turin's, 7. 151. At funeral of Samuel Bridge, 7. 151. Gives wife's wedding-ring to Mrs. Joseph Sewall, 7. 152. At Council, 7. 152. To Governor's house, 7. 152. Visits Col. Hutchinson, 7. 152. At probate office, 7 153. Presents the Governor with Baxter's Life, 7. 154. At funeral of Col. Elisha Hutchinson, 7. 155. Helped to abridge Dudley's character of Mr. Noyes, and took it to the printer's, 7. 156. Talked with Madam Dudley, 7. 156. Goes to Mr. T. Prince to inform him of the church's choice of him, 7. 156. Lets house at Cotton Hill to Obadiah Gore, 7. 157. To Cambridge about addition to the College, 7. 157. Private meeting at his house, 7. 158. Dines with the Court, 7. 158. Visits Dr. Mather, 7. 158. Enters death of his wife, with town clerk, 7. 158. Adjusts accounts with Mrs. Hubbart for rent, 7. 159. To Dr. Cotton Mather, about having a family sacrifice, also to Dr. Increase Mather, 7. 159. Executes lease of Elm pasture, 7. 161. Visits Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Pemberton, 7. 161. Holds a fast at his house, 7. 162. At Charlestown Court speaks a few words of respect to the late Chief Justice, 7. 162. Is discouraged about his vocal powers, 7. 164. Sends books to Madam Winthrop, 7. 164. Visited by Cotton Mather and they exchange books, 7. 164. Visits the Governor, 7. 165. Debates in his mind whether to live a married or single life, 7. 165, 166. Prays for direction, 7. 166. At Council, 7. 166. To Dedham to funeral of Capt. Timothy Dwight and his sixth wife, 7. 166. Discourses with Mr. Belchar, 7. 167. Visits Gov. Dudley and family, 7. 167. Writes to the Governor about position of Chief Justice, 7. 168. To funeral of Capt. Martyn, 7. 168. Governor promises him to be Chief Justice, 7. 168. Letter to Gov. Shute, 7. 168. Governor and Dr. Cotton Mather call on him, 7. 169. Interview with Governor, 7. 170. Mrs. Willoughby warns him against marrying, 7. 170. His reply, 7. 170. At Governor's about Capt. Savage's petition, 7. 170. Taxes bills, 7. 171. Feels he ought to resign the precentorship at South Church, 7. 171. Offers to do so, 7. 171. Ex-Governor and Paul Dudley call about Samuel's business, 7. 172. To Roxbury to consult Mr. Walter about Samuel, 7. 172. Anniversary of wedding-day, 7. 173. To Charlestown lecture, 7. 174. Visits Mr. Colman, 7. 175. Madam Winthrop is recommended to him for a second wife, 7. 175. He is supposed to intend marrying again, 7. 175. To Charlestown, 7. 176. Writes to brother with 'News-Letter,' 7. 176. Visits Madam Stoddard, 7. 176. Deacon Marion advises him to court Madam Winthrop, 7. 176. Much probate business, 7. 177. Dr. Mather sends him the 'Essay on the Widow,' and hints that Sewall should take a widow, 7. 177. To Charlestown about Land of Nod, 7. 177. Writes William Denison's will, 7. 177. Mr. Leverett tells him that they had laid out Madam Brown for him, and also refers to Madam Winthrop, 7. 177. At Council, 7. 178. At Mr. Denison's funeral, 7. 178. His action against Caleb Church, 7. 179. Dines with Court at Green Dragon, 7. 179. Proves William Denison's will, 7. 180. Conversation with the widow, 7. 180. Invites Dr. Cotton Mather to dinner, 7. 180. At meeting of proprietors of Land of Nod, 7. 181. At General Council, 7. 181. Mrs. Denison calls, 7. 182. Visits Dr. Clark and his new wife, 7. 182. Dr.

Increase Mather and wife with others dine, 7. 183. Takes oaths as Chief Justice, 7. 183. Sets out for Plymouth, 7. 183. Holds Court, 7. 183. Is sick, 7. 184. Takes his place in Court, 7. 184. To York, Marblehead, Salem, and Kittery, 7. 184. Holds Court at Kittery, 7. 184. Prays himself at opening of Court, 7. 185. To Rowley, 7. 185. Refers to his 'Court Journal,' 7. 185. To Salem, and there drives a pin, 7. 185. At funeral of Capt. Dummer, 7. 185. Visits ex-Gov. Dudley, 7. 186. Consults Mr. Walter about Mrs. Denison, 7. 186. Mrs. Denison visits him, and he discourses thoroughly with her, 7. 186. Finally resolves to visit her on next lecture day, 7. 186. To Salem, 7. 186. At Council, 7. 186. At Council, 7. 187. To Roxbury lecture, 7. 187. Visits Dudley and Mrs. Denison, 7. 187. Gives her Mather's sermons, 7. 187. To Commencement, 7. 187. Dines with Court, 7. 188. Visited by Mrs. Denison, 7. 188. Waits on the Governor, 7. 188. At funeral of Mrs. E. Bromfield, 7. 189. At Council, 7. 189. To dinner at Mr. Gee's, 7. 189. Visits Mrs. Denison, 7. 189. Makes her various presents, 7. 189. At funeral of Mrs. Rebecca Taylor, 7. 190. To Roxbury, 7. 190. Visits Mrs. Denison, 7. 190. Gives various presents, 7. 190. To Cambridge Court, 7. 190. Visits Mrs. Denison, and gives psalm-book, 7. 191. Dines at ex-Gov. Dudley's, 7. 192. Mrs. Denison there, and he sees her home, 7. 192. Sups with Mrs. Denison, 7. 192. Another visit, 7. 192. At funeral of Mrs. Peck, 7. 192. Called at Mrs. Denison's, 7. 192. Sets out for Bristol, 7. 192. At Newport, 7. 193. Waited on the Governor, 7. 193. Heard Mr. Clap, 7. 193. Holds Court at Bristol, 7. 194. Charge to the jury, 7. 194. Dines with Governor, 7. 194. Dines with Col. Byfield, 7. 194. Sets out for Providence and Woodstock, 7. 194. Hears Mr. Dwight, 7. 195. Sets out for Hartford, 7. 195. Dined and lodged with Mr. Woodbridge, 7. 195. Breakfast with Lieut.-Gov. Gold and justices, 7. 195. At Windsor, 7. 195. Where he visits Samuel Mather, 7. 196. At Suffield, 7. 196. Holds Court at Springfield, 7. 196. At Worcester and Marlboro', 7. 196. Home by Charlestown, 7. 197. At Council, 7. 197. Visits Mrs. Denison, 7. 197. Dines with Governor, 7. 197. At ordination of Mr. T. Prince, 7. 198. To funeral of Mrs. A. Perry, 7. 198. Visits Mrs. Denison, 7. 198. At Court, 7. 198. Dine with the Court, 7. 199. Visits Mrs. Denison, 7. 199. And presents her with shoe-buckles, 7. 199. At funeral of John Mico, 7. 199. To Charlestown lecture, 7. 199. To the prison and visit William Hirst, 7. 199. At private meeting at Mrs. Denison's, 7. 200. Sups with her, 7. 201. Sups with Govs. Dudley and Shute, and visits Mrs. Denison, 7. 201. At overseers' meeting, 7. 201. Visits Mrs. Denison, and opens the matter of their marriage, 7. 202. Lots out the Land of Nod, 7. 202. His speech at overseers' meeting, 7. 202. At Council, 7. 204. Goes to Mrs. Denison resolved to bring the matter to a point, 7. 204. Long conversation, 7. 204. No exact decision come to, 7. 204. He refuses to take back his presents, 7. 204. His bowels yearn towards Mrs. Denison, 7. 204. Reasons why this courtship failed, 7. 204. Mrs. Denison visits him, and desires private interview, 7. 206. She reproaches him, 7. 206. Long conversation, 7. 206. Hears the small-pox is in Boston, 7. 207. At Salem Court, 7. 207. To funeral of Mrs. E. Davis, 7. 207. Holds Court, and fines parties for duelling, 7. 208. At funeral of Mrs. Deborah Man, 7. 209. At Charlestown at Land of Nod meeting, 7. 209. Waits on Gov. Shute with a gold ring, 7. 209. At Charlestown Court, 7. 210. To Charlestown to Nod meeting, 7. 211. Makes various presents of books at Council, 7. 211. At Council, 7. 212. Prays with Son Joseph, 7. 212. To Roxbury lecture, 7. 212. At meeting of Judges in Council Chamber, 7. 212. Nominates two clerks for Superior Court, 7. 213. At funeral of N. Fessenden, 7. 213. Opposes printing a sermon of Dr. Cotton Mather, 7. 214. Draws up a fast proclamation, 7. 215. Dines with Governor, 7. 215. Cuts down trees at Engs's pasture, 7. 216. At commissioners' meeting, 7. 216. His remarks about anniversary days, 7. 217. Plants trees, 7. 217. At South Church meeting, 7. 218. To Cambridge to funeral of Mrs. Mary Oakes, 7. 218. Visits the president and Dr. Oakes, 7. 219. Sets out for Scituate, 7. 219. At Plymouth, 7. 219. Sets out for York, 7. 220. At Woburn, Andover, Haverhill, etc., 7. 220. Holds Court at York, 7. 221. Sets out for Ipswich, 7. 221. At Rowley and Salem, 7. 221. Court at Salem, 7. 221. To Commencement, 7. 222. Anniversary of his arrival at Boston in 1661, 7. 222. At funeral of Mrs. Walker, 7. 222. Dines with Court and treasurer, 7. 222. To Roxbury, 7. 222. At Court of Delegates, 7. 223. Visits

Sewall, Samuel, *continued.*
Francis Brinley, 7. 223. Court at Cambridge, 7. 223. At funeral of Grandson Joseph, and of Mrs. Mary Lidgett, 7. 224. Also of John Marshall, 7. 225. Visits Mrs. Tilly, 7. 225. And ex-Gov. Dudley, 7. 225, Visits Mrs. Tilly, and invites her to dwell in his house, 7. 226. Sets out for Wrentham. 7. 226. At Bristol Court, 7. 227. At Wrentham and Dedham, 7. 227. Has a bad fall, 7. 228. Visits Mrs. Tilly, 7. 228. Gave her a book, 7. 228. Visits Madam Pemberton, who applauds his courting Mrs. Tilly, 7. 228. Dines with Governor of Nova Scotia and the Council, 7. 229. At Salem and Rowley, 7. 229. At Byfield, 7. 230. At Wenham and Winnisimmet, 7. 231. Visits Mrs. Tilly, 7. 231. Banns of second marriage, published, 7. 232. To Brookline, 7 232. At funeral of Granddaughter Hannah, 7. 232. Visits Dr. I. Mather, who declines to marry him, 7. 232. Is married by Son Joseph to Mrs. Tilly, 7. 233. Her severe illness on the first night of her marriage, 7. 233. Governors Shute and Dudley, and others, dine with him. 7. 233. Attends marriage of Rev. T. Prince, 7. 234. Visits Gov. Dudley, 7. 234. Dines with Gov. Shute, 7. 234. At Council, 7. 235. Agrees that Daughter Judith shall be engaged to Rev. William Cooper, 7. 237. Sets out for Salem, 7. 237. Dines with judges, 7. 237. Holds Court at Salem, 7. 237. At Council, 7. 238. Visits Madam Willard, 7. 239. Sends his verses on Merrimack River to Mr. Williams, 7. 240. At funeral of Madam Willard, 7. 240. Presents Governor with gold ring, 7. 241. Holds Court at Charlestown, 7. 241. At Council, 7. 242. At meeting at Brother Manly's, 7. 243. At Council, 7. 243. At Council, 7. 244. To the Town House, 7. 245. At funeral of Mrs. Jane Daniel, 7. 245. At town-meeting, 7. 246. Waits on selectmen, 7. 247. Visits ex-Gov. Dudley, 7. 247. At meeting of Grammar School inspectors, 7. 247. At fast, 7. 248. At funeral of Gov. Dudley, 7. 249. Proves his will, 7. 249. At Council, 7. 250. Writes to Cotton Mather to pray for the Jews, 7. 251. Sets out for Scituate, 7. 251. Holds Court at Plymouth, 7. 251. At lecture in South Church, 7. 252. Marries Daughter Judith to Rev. William Cooper, 7. 253. His speech on the occasion, 7. 253. Gives away various books, 7. 253. Sets out for Ipswich, 7. 254. Dines at Salem, 7. 254. Holds Court at Ipswich, 7. 254. To Charlestown, 7. 254. Dines with the Churches at Green Dragon, 7. 254. Is much alarmed by wife's illness in the night, 7. 255. She dies, 7. 255. At Council, 7. 255. Puts up a note, 7. 256. At wife's funeral, 7. 256. At funeral of Madam Leverett, 7. 257. To Commencement, 7. 258. Writes to Dr. Increase Mather and Mr. Gee, 7. 258. At General Court, 7. 258. Holds Court at Cambridge, 7. 259. Waits on President, 7. 259. Expostulates with Judge Davenport about his fees, 7. 259. Meets Madam Winthrop, 7. 260. Sets out for Bristol, 7. 260. At Medfield, 7. 260. Holds Court at Bristol, 7. 261. At Rehoboth, 7. 261. Dines at Mr. Stoddard's, 7. 262. And visits Madam Winthrop, 7. 262. Discourses with her on the subject of marriage, 7. 262. She proposes several as wives for him, 7. 262. At another visit he discusses with Mrs. Noyes the subject of marrying Madam Winthrop, 7. 262. He proposes marriage to Madam Winthrop, who gives no encouragement, 7. 263. Another interview, 7. 264. Same result, 7. 264. Writes a letter to Madam Winthrop with books, and intention to call next day, 7. 266. He calls, and urges his proposal without result, 7. 267. Makes another visit to Madam Winthrop without result, 7. 268. Discusses the matter with Madam Mico, 7. 269. Visits Madam Winthrop, 7. 269. At Council, 7. 270. Visits Madam Winthrop, and has another discussion, 7. 270. Prays with son in the old chamber, 7. 271. Has another interview with Madam Winthrop, which is not encouraging, 7. 271. And another, 7. 272. To Salem, 7. 272. Holds Court there, 7. 273. Goes to Madam Winthrop, but finds her from home, 7. 273. At another visit they discuss terms, 7. 273. At another visit discuss them still further, 7. 274. Has another interview, with a final refusal, 7. 275. Dines at Mr. Stoddard's, 7. 275. At Council, 7. 276. At Council, 7. 277. Makes a grand dinner at the Dragon to Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and many others, 7. 278. At a meeting of the commissioners, 7. 278. At funeral of Mr. Hiller, 7. 279. Expostulates with daughter for receiving the elements with gloves on, 7. 279. To Brookline, 7. 280. At funeral of Madam Hutchinson, 7. 280. Visits P. Dudley and Capt. Hill, 7. 281. To Roxbury lecture, 7. 281. Private meeting at his house, 7. 283. At funeral of Capt. James Hill and wife, 7. 283. To funeral of Mary Pratt, 7. 283. At Council, 7. 285. Signs the

bill for the £50,000, 7. 285. To meet ing at Capt. Savage's, 7. 286. Objects to a justice of peace for having sold rum, 7. 287. Writes to Governor, 7. 287. Measures the front of Elm pasture, 7. 288. Goes and discourses with Mrs. Angier, 7. 288. At meeting of seven of the Council, 7. 288. Writes to Capt. Tuthill, 7. 288. Sets out for York, 7. 288. Stops at Lynn, 7. 288. At Hampton, 7. 288. Holds Court at Ipswich, 7. 288. Gives books to various persons, 7. 289. To Brookline, 7. 289. Keep fast at Cambridge, 7. 290. To Brookline, 7. 290. Visits Madam Ruggles, and expresses his willingness to become her suitor, but she declines, 7. 290. Holds Court at Cambridge, 7. 290. At funeral of Mrs. Rainford, 7. 291. Visits Mrs. Ruggles, who again refuses him, 7. 291. At funeral of Nathaniel Parkman, 7. 291. Sets up a stone post in memory of first wife, 7. 292. At funeral of Mr. Lynde, 7. 292. Three page tract by Sewall, 7. 292. Speech about Thanksgiving Sermons, 7. 293. At funeral of Mrs. Martha Cotes, 7. 293. And of Mr. Holbrook and Mrs. Vivien, 7. 293. Also of Mrs. Checkley, 7. 294. His remarks there, 7. 294. At Council, 7. 294. At commissioners' meeting, 7. 294. At funeral of Mrs. Hoar, 7. 294. To funeral of Rev. J. Stephens, 7. 295. And of Susan Thair, 7. 296. At funeral of John White, 7. 297. At Council, 7. 297. Visits Mr. Wadsworth, 7. 298. At meeting of college overseers, 7. 298. His speech there, concerning Hollis donation, 7. 298. Writes a letter to Mrs. Mary Gibbs, proposing marriage, 7. 299. Visits the Governor, and gives him a ring, 7. 299. Visits Mrs. Gibbs at Newton, 7. 300. At overseers' meeting, 7. 300. Another visit to Mrs. Gibbs, and enters upon terms for the marriage, 7. 300. Letter to Mrs. Gibbs, 7. 301. Discusses the matter with Daniel Oliver, 7. 302. Another letter to Mrs. Gibbs, 7. 302. Another letter to Mrs. Gibbs, 7. 303. Enters names for their banns, 7. 303. His banns for third marriage published, 7. 304. Went to visit Mrs Gibbs at Newton, 7. 304. Has much probate business, 7. 305. Visits Dr. Clark, 7. 305. To Cambridge, 7. 305. Is married by Rev. W. Cooper to Mrs. Gibbs, 7. 306. Brings her home, 7. 306. Takes her to church, 7. 306. Promises another lease of Point Judith to N. Niles, Jr., 7. 307. Large blank in the Journal here, 7. 307. Writes to Gov. Saltonstall, 7. 308. At Council, 7. 308. Visits Uncle and Aunt Oliver, 7. 308. Gives away various books, 7. 308. Visits Dr. Increase Mather, and asks his blessing, 7. 308. At Old North Fast, 7. 309. At funeral of Madam Dudley, 7. 310. To Cambridge, 7. 311. Views an eclipse, 7. 312. At Council, 7. 313. Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and others dine with him, 7. 313. At funeral of Madam Clark, 7. 314. Prays with son in chamber, 7. 314. Dr. Mather dines with him, 7. 315. Objects to Governor adjourning Court for Christmas, 7. 315. His remarks at the Council, 7. 315. Visits Peter Weare, but finds him gone to heaven, 7. 316. Hears the guns, being signal of Gov. Shute's departure for England, 7. 317. At Council, 7. 317. His speech there, 7. 317. Dines with Council at the Green Dragon, 7. 318. Writes to Edward Taylor, with sermons, 7. 318. Visits Dr. Mather, 7. 319. To Roxbury lecture, 7. 319. Holds Court at Charlestown, 7. 320 His speech to grand jury, 7. 320. Visits Mr. Bradstreet, Col. Philips, Dr. Increase Mather, and Mr. Gee, 7. 320. Marries Capt. Pepperell and Mary Hirst, 7. 320. Poems in 'News-Letter' supposed to be by Sewall, 7. 320. Various poems and Latin verses by Sewall, 7. 321, 322. Visits Mr. Belchar at Dedham, 7. 324. Gives away various books, 7. 325. Visits Dr. Increase Mather, 7. 325. At funeral of Dr. Increase Mather, 7. 326. Dines with the Court, 7. 327. To overseers' meeting at Cambridge, 7. 327. To the New North, 7. 327. At funeral of Mrs. Dorothy Foy, 7. 328. Verses upon suicide of Mr. Valentine, 7. 330. Taken sick, 7. 331. To meeting, 7. 332. Delivers the company's commission, bonds, mortgages, and books, 7. 334, 335. To funeral of Mrs. Jane Bowdry, 7. 336. And of Mrs. Legg, 7. 336. Also of President Leverett, 7. 336. Gives away various books, 7. 337. To Ipswich and Salem, 7. 337. At Ipswich Court, 7. 338. Visits Col. Samuel Appleton, 7. 338. To Cambridge Court, 7. 338. His charge to grand jury, 7. 338. At overseers' meeting, 7. 340. Puts up note for Daughter Hannah, 7. 341. Comes home and finds her dead, 7. 341. At funeral of Daughter Hannah, 7. 342. And of Grandson John, 7. 342. Prays in the old chamber with Son Joseph, 7. 343. At funeral of Granddaughter Mehitable Cooper, 7. 344. And of Elisha Odlin, 7 344. His speech at the Court about bills of credit, 7. 345. At Charlestown Court, 7. 347. Dines at 'Three Cranes,' 7. 348. Takes down cherubim's head

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from his gate, 7. 348. Gives a ring to Lieutenant-Governor, 7. 349. At funeral of Mrs. Abigail Arnold, 7. 349. At Council, 7. 349. At Council, 7. 350. To Roxbury lecture, 7. 351. To Newton, 7. 351. Benjamin Sweet is brought to be his servant in place of Scipio, 7. 351. At marriage of Edmund Quincy, 7. 352. Sets out for Plymouth, 7. 352. Holds Court at Plymouth, 7. 353. At Hingham, 7. 353. Visits Mr. Deming, 7. 354. At Council, 7. 354. At overseers' meeting, 7. 354. Sets out for Ipswich, 7. 355. Holds Court, 7. 355. At Salem, 7. 356. And Malden, 7. 356. At funeral of Madam Bradstreet, 7. 356. To Lieutenant-Governor's treat, 7. 356. Dines at Exchange Tavern, 7. 357. To the election at Town House, 7. 357. Returns indisposed, 7. 357. Is sent for by Lieutenant-Governor, 7. 357. Declines to take oath, and resigns place as councillor, 7. 357. Is much pressed to continue, 7. 357. Is again urged, and finally agrees to take a week's consideration, 7. 358. Gives silver spoon to Daughter Cooper, 7. 359. Deputation from Lieutenant-Governor and Council for him to resume place in Council, 7. 359. No verbal reply, but writes to Council persisting in his resolution, 7. 359. Reference to his letter-book, 7. 359. Dines with Col. Hutchinson and others, 7. 360. Visits Madam Winthrop, 7. 360. His letter to Hon. Samuel Partridge, 7. 360. At funeral of Elizabeth Cooke, 7. 361. Holds Court at Cambridge, 7. 362. Visits Col. Spencer Phips, 7. 362. At funeral of Madam Katherine Winthrop, 7. 363. At meeting at Mrs. Homes's, 7. 364. At funeral of Brother Stephen, 7. 366. Dines with Major Price, and visits Col. Brown, 7. 366. Prays with son in old chamber, and fasts all day, 7. 366. Officiates at opening of Mrs. Anne Pollard's will, 7. 368. At her funeral, 7. 368. Presents a ring to Lieutenant-Governor, and spoons to other persons, 7. 370. At funeral of Thomas Walker, 7. 370. Finds Baker's mortgage, and causes it to be cancelled, 7. 371. At funeral of Mrs. Palsgrave Walker, 7. 372. Is offended with Samuel Hirst, 7. 372. At funeral of Col. Phillips, 7. 373. Is in his seventy-fifth year, and is full of thankfulness, 7. 373. At funeral of Mrs. Sarah Clark, 7. 374. And of Mrs. S. Middlecott, 7. 374. Also at that of Mrs. Mary Coney, 7. 375. His verse about Three Sams, 7. 375. Holds Court at Plymouth, 7. 376. Dines at Hingham with Col. Quincey, 7. 376. Sets out for Ipswich, 7. 376. Holds Court at Ipswich, 7. 377. Gives away several books, 7. 377. Visits Col. Appleton, 7. 377. To Salem, 7. 377. And brings brother's widow to Boston, 7. 377. To Commencement, 7. 378. Holds Court at Cambridge, 7. 379. His charge to grand jury, 7. 379. Visits the president and professor, 7. 379. Holds Superior Court at Boston, 7. 380. At funeral of Hon. John Usher, 7. 380. At funeral of Mrs. Sarah Williams, 7. 382. Acknowledges deed of his lot in Nod, 7. 382. Goes to Lieutenant-Governor, and desires to lay down his place in Superior Court, 7. 382. Gives away various books, 7. 382. And to his wife a ring, 7. 382. Visits from Col. Townsend and Col. Byfield, 7. 382. Visits from Mr. Secretary and Treasurer Allen, 7. 383. Is serenaded, 7. 383. Takes the oaths to King George II., 7. 384. Gives general retaining fee to John Read, Esq., 7. 385. At funeral of Rev. Mr. Waldron, 7. 386. Visits Mr. Samuel Banister, 7. 387. At funeral of Rev. Peter Thatcher, of Milton, 7. 387. Has a severe fall, 7. 388. Deaths of his old classmates, 7. 388. At funeral of Deacon John Marion, 7. 389. At funeral of Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather, 7. 390. At funerals of Mr. John Campbell and Mrs. Mary Dafforne, 7. 391. Has a curious dream, 7. 392. Son Joseph dines with him, 7. 393. Visits Gov. Burnet, and takes his jewel, 7. 393. Dines with Mr. Gee, 7. 394. At Commissioners' meeting, 7. 395. Gov. Burnet and others dine with him, 7. 395. Writes to Rev. Thomas Foxcroft, 7. 395. Judge Davenport calls, 7. 395. Lieutenant-Governor visits him, 7. 396. Fragment of Sewall's Diary presented to the Society by Dr. Fogg, of South Boston, being an account of a visit as one of the Commissioners of the Society in behalf of the Indians, 7. 397. Visits Mr. Isaac Robinson, 7. 397. Dines at Mr. Melatiah Lothrop's, 7. 397. Visits Mr. Russell and Gov. Hinckley, 7. 397. Visits Mr. Walley's burying-place, and reads epitaph, 7. 397. Visits Mr. Sheriff Allen, 7. 398. Dines at Major Mayhew's 7. 398. At the Gay-head Neck, 7. 398. Visits Mr. Diman and Capt. Joseph Clay, 7. 399. At Sandwich and Plymouth, 7. 399. Another fragment of his Diary, 7. 399. Memoranda from the book called 'Magunkaquog,' 7. 400–408. Obituary notice of Judge Sewall, from Boston 'Weekly News-Letter,' 7. 408–410.

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